



**ASPECTS OF SOCIO - CULTURAL LIFE IN ORISSA
UNDER THE MUGHALS (1592-1751 A.D.)**

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

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IN

HISTORY

BY

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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

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Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**Aspects of Socio-Cultural life in Orissa Under the Mughals (1592-1751A.D.)**” is the original work of **Mr. Sk. Abdul Gaffar Ali** completed under my supervision. The thesis is suitable for submission for the award of the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** in History.

(**Dr. M. K. Zaman**)
Supervisor



Abstract

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Orissa is one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India. It was popularly known as Kalinga and Utkal. Subsequently it was named as Jajnagar during the Sultanate period by the Muslim chroniclers. However, Orissa is the anglicized form of the word Odisha which has actually been taken from *Odra*. Orissa was acknowledged as one of the predominant regions in the Indian sub-continent with a distinct political and Cultural heritage. So far as the political part is concerned, it was ruled by the different royal dynasties in different periods of its history, Kesari dynasty (474-1132.A.D), Ganga dynasty (1132-1452.A.D) and the Suryavamsi dynasty (1452-1568.A.D).

The great kings of Suryavamsi dynasty of Orissa like- Kapilendra Deva (1434-1470 A.D.), Purushottama Deva (1470-1497 A.D.) and Prataprudra Deva (1497-1541 A.D.) were followed by weak successors. The latter's minister Govinda Vidyadhara usurped the throne and ruled over Orissa under the name of Viragovinda Deva from 1541 to 1549 A.D. His son Chakrapratapa Deva ascended the throne in 1549 but was assassinated by his son Narasimha in 1557 A.D. The latter was also assassinated and his younger brother Raghuram Chhotarai rose to throne with the help of Mukunda Harichandana (Governor of Cuttak). But after a short period Mukunda Harichandra got Raghuram killed and seized the throne, assuming the name of Mukunda Deva. His tenure ended in 1568 by the Afghan conquest under Sulaiman Karrani but before the Afghans could establish their control in Orissa, they were involved in conflict with the mighty Mughals which ultimately led to the conquest of Orissa by the latter who ruled over it up to 1751 A.D. Initially, Orissa was attached to the Subah of Bengal, later it was separated by the Mughal emperor Jahangir in 1607.A.D. It was again attached with Bengal Subah during the period of later Mughals. It came under unrest due to the Maratha invasion from 1741 to 1751. Finally, it passed to the Marathas through a peace treaty by Alivardi Khan with Raghu Bonsle in 1751 A.D.

Although much has been written on the political and economic history of Medieval Orissa, a very little attempt has so far been made to write about the Socio-cultural life of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. Though Muslim rule lasted nearly two centuries and it influenced various aspects of its society and culture but no attempt has been made so far to study the impact of the Muslims on the various

aspects of the society and culture of Orissa during the Mughal rule. The books of Andrew Stirling, John Beams, W.W. Hunter, R.D. Banerjee, H.K. Mahatab and M.A. Haque contain only stray references to the social life of the people of Medieval Orissa and are silent about the developments and transformation held in the Socio-cultural life of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period and the impact of Muslims on that. Their works mainly discuss about the political events and administration of the then period.

Hence the object of the present thesis entitled "**Aspects of Socio-Cultural life in Orissa Under the Mughals (1592 A.D. – 1751 A.D.)**" is an attempt to throw light on some aspects of the Socio-Cultural life of the people of Orissa and to analyse the impact of the Muslims on that during the period ranging approximately from the last decade of the sixteenth century to mid-eighteenth century. The primary sources consulted to construct the thesis included medieval Persian accounts, memoirs, the accounts of the European travelers, the contemporary and near contemporary Literature in Oriya, Bengali and Sanskrit.

Although references to Orissa are traced in several contemporary and near contemporary Persian sources but no Persian work of the Muslim period dealing entirely with Orissa has yet been discovered. So the references given in the Persian account has been corroborated from other regional sources to give correct accounts of the period. Accounts and memoires of European travelers which threw considerable light on the above said period has been consulted. The contemporary Oriya literatures containing information related to aspects of social life have also been included. The temple chronicles of Lord Jagannatha known as Madala Panji which corroborated several statements of the contemporary Persian chroniclers and provides many important information of the period under review has largely been utilized. The Persian inscriptions were located at several places in Orissa like- the inscriptions on the façade of Jama Masjid , Dewan Bazar Masjid, Ujale Khan Masjid, Sardar Khan Masjid, Qadam-i-Rasool, Moti Masjid, Naubat Khana of Cuttack, The Inscription on the Abu Nasar Khan Masjid of Jajpur and inscriptions on the Shahi Mosque of Pipli has also been consulted to compile this thesis. Beside these, I have also utilized a number of Persian, Oriya and Sanskrit Manuscripts preserved in the Orissa State Archives and the Orissa State Museum. The Persian Manuscripts in possession of

Shajmahal Ali Shah of Baligaon of Bhadrak and Karamat Ali of Cuttack has also been consulted.

The thesis is divided into six chapters which are again subdivided into sections and sub-sections.

The first chapter, entitled "**Geo-Political profile of Orissa**" is divided into two sections. Section (A) deals with the geographical and territorial boundaries of Orissa from the earliest time to 1751.A.D. This section also has description about the climate, river, forest, mountains, birds and beast of the region. Section (B) deals with the invasion of Orissa by the Sultans of Delhi and occasional intrusion of the sultans of Jaunpur, Bahamani and Bengal before the Mughals. It gives information about Akbar's diplomatic embassy to Raja Mukunda Deva of Orissa and the conquest of Orissa by Afghans of Bengal under the Sultan Sulaiman Karrani of Bengal. It also discussed about the Mughal-Afghan hostilities in Orissa and final conquest of Orissa by the Mughal general Raja Man singh in 1592 A.D. In addition to that, it contains five tables showing the list of the Mughal Subedars of Orissa.

The Second chapter entitled "**Social Stratification and its Institution**" deals with the four fold division of Hindu Society of Orissa during the period under review. It describes about the categories among the Brahman on the basis of profession like- Vaidek Brahma, Brahman Kshatriya, Laukik Brahman and Balram gotri. It also deals with the other caste, various sub-castes and tries to highlight the upward mobility in the lower stratum of the society. It focuses light on the social status and acts of the Kshatriya, process of Ksatriyaization of the tribals during the Mughal period and issues related to the Kshatriya have also been included in this section. It also deals with the peasant militia class like Khandait and their service to the local rajas and to the Mughals. It mentions about the various gotris under the Vaishyas, based on the vocation.viz, Baidya (physician) Badhai (carpenter), Kayastha (writer), Gauda (milkman), Kumar (blacksmith), Kansari (workers in brass metal), Sadhavas (merchant), Sankhari (workers in shells) and others. It also deals with upward mobility of the Sudras in Orissa, their engagement in cultivation and as foot soldiers. It also throws light on the social settlements of the Muslim with their social grades (Ashraf and Ajlaf) in different part of Orissa. It also deals with the Social institutions like Marriage system with its forms and rituals, dowry, Purdah system, Sati pratha and

prostitution. It has also discussed about the impact of the Muslims on the existing social institutions of Orissa and vice versa.

The third chapter entitled- "**Customs and Amusements**" has four sub-sections. The section-1 deals with the food habits of the people of Orissa before Mughals and introduction of new food items with the settlements of the Muslims and the impact of Mughal diets on the food habits of regional people.

The section-2 deals with the dresses and ornaments used by the people of Orissa prior to the Muslim settlement and the introduction of Muslim attires and ornaments into Oriyan society after the establishment of Muslim administration. It also describes about the impact of the Muslim attires and ornaments on the Oriya dressing style.

The section-3 of this chapter deals with the cosmetics and fragrances used by the people of Orissa before the Mughals and the introduction of the new cosmetics and perfumes by the Muslims in Orissa and their usage by the local people.

The section-4 of this chapter deals with the sources of amusements of the people of Orissa during the period under review. It also deals with the Music and drama of the region during the Mughal period.

The chapter-IV entitled-"**Religion and Festivals**" deals with the religious environment of Orissa during the Mughal rule. It describes comprehensively about the various sects and cults of Orissa like Saiva sect, Sakti cult, Sun cult, Varishnava sect. It also deals with the cult of Jagannath, the most famous and popular cult of the people of Orissa during the period under discussion. It also describes about the introduction of Islam with the settlement of the Muslims in Orissa. It also deals with festivals of the Oriya people during the Mughal period like- Rath Yatra, Raja Samkranti, Sravana Prunima, Sivaratri, Rakhi Purnima, Ganesh Puja, Durga Puja, Kurma purnima, Deepavali, Ashokasatami, Prathamasthami, Dolapurnima and Holi. It also describes about the Muslim festivals celebrated in Orissa by the Muslim populace during the period under review like- Muharram, Id-i-Milad, Shab-i-Barat, Id-ul-fitr, and Id-ul-Zuha. I have also discussed about the religious syncretism in this chapter.

The chapter-V entitled "**Development in language and literature**" deals with the origin and stages of growth of the Oriya language, development of the Oriya literature and the age of the Panchasakha poets like Balaram Das, Jagannath Das, Achyitanand Das, Yasovanta Das and Ananta Das. It also throws light on the literary activities of the Vaishnavite scholars and development of Oriya literature during the Mughal period. It also deal with the issue of infiltration of Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu words into the vocabulary of Oriya language and their usage by the scholars of the then period. It also describes about the channels through which the Persian language influenced the regional language. It also contains a table showing the name of Oriya works written by some poets and scholars during the said period.

The sixth and final chapter entitled '**The Mughal Monuments in Orissa**' deals with the mosque, tombs, tanks, graveyard and palace of governors built in different parts of Orissa by the Mughal governors in different periods of time. It also throws light on its architecture and Persian inscriptions found on the walls of these monuments.

On the basis of the information and various points discussed in my thesis, I wish to mention here some of my findings that, after the establishment of the Mughal rule in Orissa, transformation was taking place in different aspects of the society and culture, the impact of the Muslims can be traced in the customs, manners, language, literature, art and architecture of the people of Orissa. So far as the religion and festivals are concerned, there was communal harmony and co-existence. On the other side, the Muslims of Orissa are also habituated to many rituals of the Hindus of Orissa. Thus both the cultures influenced each other.

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Abbreviation

Ain.	Ain-i-Akbari.
B.G	Baharirtan-i-Ghayabi
Bib. Ind	Bibliotheca Indica.
E & D	Elliot and Dowson.
Ed.	Editor
ed.	edited.
edn.	edition.
E.I.	Epigraphica Indica.
f. n.	Foot note.
I.A.	The Indian Antiquary.
I.O.	Inscriptions of Orissa.
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quaterly.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.A.H.R.S.	Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.
J.B.O.R.S	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.O.R.	Journal of Oriental Research.
J. R.A.S.	Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
O.H.R.J	Orissa Historical Research Journal.
p.7ff.	Page.7 and following pages.
P.I.H.C.	Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
P.O.H.C.	Proceeding of Orissa History Congress.
S.I.I.	South Indian Inscriptions.
Tuzuk	Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri.
Trs.,	Translated By.
Vol.	volume.

Introduction

Orissa is one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India. It was popularly known as Kalinga and Utkal. Subsequently it was named as Jainagar during the Sultanate period by the Muslim chroniclers. However, Orissa¹ is the anglicized form of the word Odisha which has actually been taken from *Odra*. Orissa was acknowledged as one of the predominant regions in the Indian sub-continent with a distinct political and cultural heritage. So far as the political part is concerned, it was ruled by the different royal dynasties in different periods of its history, the Kesari dynasty² (474-1132.A.D), Ganga dynasty³ (1132-1452.A.D) and the Suryavamsi dynasty (1452-1568.A.D).

The great kings of Suryavamsi dynasty of Orissa like- Kapilendra Deva (1434-1470 A.D.), Purushottama Deva (1470-1497 A.D.) and Prataprudra Deva (1497-1541 A.D.) were followed by weak successors. The latter's minister Govinda Vidyadhara usurped the throne and ruled over Orissa under the name of Viragovinda Deva from 1541 to 1549. His son Chakrapratapa Deva ascended the throne in 1549 but was assassinated by his son Narasimha in 1557.A.D. The latter was also assassinated and his younger brother Raghuram Chhotarai rose to throne with the help of Mukunda Harichandana (Governor of Cuttak). But after a short period Mukunda Harichandra got Raghuram killed and seized the throne, assuming the name of Mukunda Deva. His tenure ended in 1568 by the Afghan conquest under Sulaiman Karrani but before the Afghans could establish their control in Orissa, they were involved in conflict with the mighty Mughals which ultimately led to the conquest of Orissa by the latter, who ruled over it up to 1751 A.D. Initially, Orissa was attached to the Subah of Bengal, later it was separated by the Mughal emperor Jahangir in 1607.A.D. It was again attached with Bengal Subah during the period of later Mughals. It came under unrest due to the Maratha invasion from 1741 to 1751.A.D. Finally, it passed to the Marathas through a peace treaty by Alivardi Khan with Raghu Bonsle in 1751.A.D.

¹ Orissa has been renamed as Odisha by the 113 constitutional amendments Cf. The Times of India, 24th march, 2011.

² *Katakarajavamsavali*, ed. G.C. Tripathi and Hermann Kulke, Sanskrit text no. 5A to 44, eng trs., Allahabad, 1987, pp. 59-74. It also gives the list of the rulers of the Kesari Dynasty of Orissa with their reigning period, pp.116-117.

³ *Ibid.*, pp.74-96, 118.

Although much has been written on the political and economic history of Medieval Orissa, a very little attempt has so far been made to write about the Socio-cultural life of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. Though Muslim rule lasted nearly two centuries and it influenced various aspects of its society and culture but no attempt has been made so far to study the impact of the Muslims on the various aspects of the society and culture of Orissa during the Mughal rule. The books of Andrew Stirling, John Beams, W.W. Hunter, R.D. Banerjee, B.C. Ray, H.K. Mahatab and M.A. Haque contain only stray references to the social life of the people of Medieval Orissa and are silent about the developments and transformation held in the Socio-cultural life of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period and the impact of Muslims on that. Even their works mainly discuss about the political events and administration of the then period.

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Chapter-I

Geo-political profile of Orissa

Orissa extends from 17°49'N to 22°34'N latitude and from 81°29'E to 87°29'E Longitude on the eastern coast of Indian peninsula.¹ It formed one of the five outlying kingdoms of ancient India.² Presently Orissa is bounded by the states of West Bengal on the north-east, Jharkhand on the north, Chhattisgarh on the west, Andhra Pradesh on the south and the Bay of Bengal on the east.

Orissa is the anglicized form of the word '*Odisha*'. The word has come from '*Odra*' which in the ancient times was the name of small territory of present Orissa and was original seat of the *Odra* tribe³. The edicts of Ashoka at Dhauli and Jaugada of the third century B.C. and the *Hatigumpha* inscription of Kharavela of Udayagiri mentions *Kalinga*, which is in the southern part of Odra. The earliest references to '*Odra*' as the literary language find mentions in Bharata's *Natyashastra*,⁴ which is dated according to some in the first century A.D. Adjacent to the Odra country on the North-west was the country of *Utkala*⁵.

In the seventh century A.D. Utkala, Odra and north Tosala (Coastal Orissa) were united as one administrative unit in the empire of Harsh and it was known as *Odra visaya* or Odra country⁶. Alexander Cunningham by a reference to the biography of Hiouen Tsang identifies the kingdom of *Ucha* or *Oda* as *Odra*.⁷ During the ninth and tenth century, it has referred as '*Ursfin*' in the account of Ibn Khurdadhbin and as '*Ursin*' in the *Hudud-al-Alam*.⁸

¹ Abul Fazl describes in his work that 'Orissa is a territory lying to the south-east of India'. Cf. *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1881, Vol.II, p.254; *Akbarnama*, trs., Beveridge, Delhi, 1989, Vol.II, p.381.

² Hunter, W.W. '*Orissa*', London, 1872, Vol.I, p.171. It mentions the name of five ancient kingdoms of India as – *Anga, Banga, Kalinga, Suhma* and *Pundra* in note p. 171.

³ *Or-Desa* or *Oresa*, the old original seat of the Odra tribe had anciently less extended limits, the Rusikulia river making its southern and Kansbans its northern extreme. Cf. Sterling. A - '*An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack*', Calcutta, 1904, p.1.

⁴ Acharya Paramanda- '*Studies in Orissa History, Archaeology and Archives*', Cuttack, 1969, p.162.

⁵ *Utkala* was situated at the foot of the Vindhya close to Mekala, Odra and Utkala are sometimes taken as synonymous terms. Cf. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol.I, op. cit., p. 172.

⁶ *Epigraphia Indica*, (Calcutta and Delhi), XXIII, p. 202.

⁷ Cunningham Alexander, '*The Ancient Geography of India*', Varanasi, 1963, p. 430.

⁸ *Hudud-al-Alam*- 'The Regions of the world' – A persian Geography translated into Russia by V. Monorsky and re-translated into English, Oxford university Press, London, 1937, p. 241.

The Muslim historians of the twelfth and sixteenth centuries A.D. always have described this territory of *Odra desa* or Orissa as '*Jajnagar*'⁹ which appears to be a corrupt name of *Yayatinagara*, the erst-while capital of the Somavamsis in *Odradesa*. We get references of Jajnagar¹⁰ as name of Orissa in the Muslim chronicles like *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*¹¹, *Tarikh-i-FirozShahi*, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*¹², *Riyazu-s-Salatin*¹³ etc. that, towards the end of the 14th century, Afif has described at one place '*Jajnagar-Udisa*'¹⁴ while mentioning Firoz Shah's invasion of Orissa in 1361 A.D.

By the fifteenth century A.D., Kapilendra Deva's Jagannatha temple inscription dated 1443 A.D. mentions clearly *Odisa rajya*¹⁵ for Odradesa and *Sarala Das*, the great poet contemporary to Kapilendra Deva, also describes the country as *Odisa-rastra or Odisa rajya*.¹⁶

Geographical Boundaries:

It is very difficult to define accurately the boundaries of Orissa which have undergone so many changes at different periods of its history. Orissa, in ancient and medieval times, was much bigger than the modern Orissa. The mouth of the Ganges on the north, the Godavari on the south, the Bay of Bengal on the east and the *Amarkantak*¹⁷ in the Vindhya ranges on the west had formed its traditional boundary, it was divided into several political units such as *Kalinga*, *Kosala*, *Odra*, *Utkala* and *Kongoda*. It may, however, be noted here that, this extent of Orissa was not constant or fixed rather the territorial limit of Orissa was fluctuated greatly at different period.

⁹ *Jajnagar* was situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi and Baitarni. It was the capital of the Somavamsis dynasty of Orissa, presently named as Jajpur.

¹⁰ During the reign of Balban, Tughril Khan the then governor of Bengal attacked Jajnagar and carried off great spoil in valuable and elephants to Lakhnauti. It also mention about the attack of Ulugh Khan (Mohammad-bin-Tughlaq) of Jajnagar while marching against Warangal. Cf. Barni Ziauddin, '*Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*', trs., Elliot and Dowson in the '*History of India As told by its own Historians*', Delhi, 1867, Vol.III, pp. 112, 234.

¹¹ Minhaj-us-Siraj, *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, ed. Abdul Hai Habibi, Kabul, 1342.A.H, Vol.I, p.432; Vol.II, pp.14-15,31-32.

¹² Ahmad Nizamuddin, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, ed. Munshi Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1875, pp. 44,98,523.

¹³ Salim, Ghulam Hussain, '*Riyazu-s-Salatin*', trs., Abdus Salam, Delhi, (reprint), 1975, pp. 79, 98.

¹⁴ Afif, *Tarikh-i-FirozShahi*, ed. Maulvi Vilayat Husain, Calcutta, 1891, pp.163-164.

¹⁵ Inscriptions in the Temple of Jagannath, left side No. 3, Right side No. 4, '*Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal*', LXII (1983), p.93-100.

¹⁶ Orissa has described as *odisa-rastra* or *odisa- rajya*. Cf. '*Adi Parva*' and '*Virata Parva*' in his *Oriya Mahabharata*.

¹⁷ *Amarkantak*: situated at 23°38'N and 81°15'E. It is now in Madhya Pradesh Cf. Sahu, N.K, '*Utkal University History of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1950, pp.1, 75, 77.

That in the ancient period, the province of *Odra desa* or *Ordessa* was extended from Gondwana in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east and from the wild hill-states of Jashpur and Singhbhum in the north to Rusikulia river (which flows into sea at Ganjam) in the south.¹⁸

Hunter has demarcated the territorial limit of Kalinga thus, "Our earliest glimpses at Orissa disclose an unexplored maritime kingdom, stretching from the Ganges to the mouth of the Krishna. It was a long narrow strip of coast, everywhere shut out from the Indian continent by a wide terra incognita of mountains and forests under the name of Kalinga".¹⁹

During the rule of the Ganga ruler Ananta Varma Chodaganga Deva (1077-1147 A.D.), the northern limit of Orissa was near the mouth of the river Ganges and the southern limit was the Godavari.²⁰ But the later Gangas failed to maintain this vast territory and during the reign of Bhanudeva-IV (1414-1425) the Reddis of Rajahmundry were in possession of the Ganga territory upto Simhachalam.²¹

Under the Kapilendradeva (1434-1470), the territorial boundary of Orissa was expended upto the river Kaveri in the south and the lower Ganges in the north owing to his successful campaigns against the Kingdom of Rajahmundry and the Sultan of Bengal. But later his successors Purushotama Deva (1470-1497) and Prataprudra Deva (1497-1540) lost his territory lying to the south of the Godavari to the Vijayanagar²² and the Bahmani Kingdom.

During the reign of Mukund Deva (1559-68), prior to Muslim possession, Orissa was flanked in the north by the Triveni ghat above Hoogli through Bisenpur to the frontier of Patkum, in the east the Bay of Bengal washed her shore, in the south

¹⁸ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack*, op.cit., p. 1, See also Alexander Cunningham *The Ancient Geography of India*, op.cit., p. 431.

¹⁹ Hunter, *Orissa*, op. cit., Vol.I, p. 170.

²⁰ *Katakarajavamsavali*, India office, MSS, Aufrecht, written in Sanskrit, MSS. No.46, ed. and trs., Hermann Kulke and G.C. Tripathi, Allahabad, 1987, Vol.I, p.75.

²¹ *Simhachalam*- A temple in Vizagapattam district.

²² Barbosa, Duarte - *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trs., Mansel Longworth Dames, Item-85, London, 1918, Vol.I p.228. It mention that there is another kingdom further inland, which marches with the kingdom of *Narsyngua* (Vijaynagar) on side and with *Bengala* on the other, called as '*Otisa*', (Orissa), the king of this land is lord of many foot men and is often at war with Narsyngua. Cf. *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, (July), 1953, Appendix-III.

the territory stretched as far as the river Godavari and the western line was drawn from the Singhbhum to Sonepur skirting Gangpur and Sambalpur.²³

When the Afghans of Bengal attacked on Orissa under Kalapahad,²⁴ who was the general of Sulaiman Karrani²⁵ in 1568, the territory of Orissa extending from Midnapur to the Chilika lake passed into their possession.

Subsequently, when the Mughals conquered Orissa after defeating Afghans in 1592 A.D. under Raja Man Singh,²⁶ the Mughal possession in Orissa comprised the area stretching from Tamlook and Midnapur on the north to the fort of Rajahmundry in the South²⁷ and was divided into five unequally apportioned Sarkar²⁸ viz- Jalesar²⁹, Bhadrak³⁰, Katak³¹, Kalinga Dandapat and Rajahmundry³² and called as *Mughalbandi* area. Whereas the vast range of hilly country boundary to the Westward from Bishenpur down to the neighborhood of Karrondi, Bastar and Jayapur was classed under a separate head in the revenue accounts of the empire but allowed to remain entirely under the management of its native chiefs, subject either to the conditions of military service or to the payment of a light annual tribute were commonly known as 'Garjat' area.³³ The Mughal boundary of Orissa expanded towards the South during the reign of Jahangir³⁴ and Shahjahan that Baqir Khan the governor of Orissa conquered Khiraparah and Mansurgarh of Golkonda in 1630-31 and extended the

²³ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper or Cuttack*, op. cit., p. 1.

²⁴ *Katakarajavamsavali*, op.cit., MSS. No. 75, p.95.

²⁵ During the reign of Mukund Deva the Muslims of Bengal advanced toward Orissa under Sulaiman and his commander Kalapahad and defeated the Raja of Orissa and occupied his capital Cuttack. Cf. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1887, Vol.III, pp.326-327.

²⁶ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.631-632.

²⁷ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, op. cit., p. 2.

²⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Munshi Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1882, Vol.II, p.51.

²⁹ Jalesor or Jaleswar a big town 10 miles from Danton towards Katak, Cf. Joseph Tieffenthaler *The Geography of Hindustan* (in Latin), trs., Sri Pranabesh Singh Roy, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1823, pp.43-44.

³⁰ Sarkar *Bhadrak* lay between the Baitarni river in the south and Kansbans in the north, Cf. *Journal Asiatic Society Bengal* (1916), p. 44, See also, *J.R.A.S.*, (1896), p. 745.

³¹ *Katak* is situated at the bifurcation of the river Mahanadi and its branch, the Katjori. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II p.52.

³² The Sarkar *Rajahmundry* and *Kalingadandapath* lay between the river Rishikulya in the north and the Godavari in the south. Cf., *J.R.A.S.*, (1896), p. 745.

³³ *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa proper Or Cuttack*, op. cit, p. 2.

³⁴ During the twelfth regnal year of Jahangir Mukarram Khan the governor of Orissa conquered Khurda and expanded its Southern limit. Cf. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Syed Ahmad, Aligarh, 1864, pp.214-215.

Southern boundary of Orissa.³⁵ According to Abul Hasan, early in Aurangzeb's reign, Malud was the southernmost outpost of Mughal Orissa.³⁶

Climate, Rivers, Forest and animals:-

The climate of Orissa during the Mughal conquest was healthy and good. Abul Fazl in his *Ain* has described about the climate of Orissa that, 'the climate is extremely healthy'.³⁷ Shujan Rai in his *Khulasat* also mention about the good climate of Orissa.³⁸ Abul Fazl again said that, there were three seasons in a year in Orissa. The rainy season extends over eight months, there were three cold months and only one month was hot.³⁹

There were many rivers which flowed through Orissa during the period under review like- the Baitarani, Brahmani, Burabalanga, Indrabati, Mahanadi, Machakunda, Katjuri, Kansbanas, Rushikuliya, Salandi, Subernarekha and Vamsadhara. We find mention of the Mahanadi and Katjuri in *Ain*.⁴⁰ Thomas Bowery also described about many rivers flowing in Orissa by the point Palmyras.⁴¹ Alexander Hamilton referred to the river Mahanadi of Cuttack in his account.⁴²

There were dense jungle and lofty hills in the interior of this province which was full of wild beasts like elephants, tigers, bears, lions and rhinoceros.⁴³ Among the

³⁵ Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Padshahnama*, ed. Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdur Rahim, Vol.I, Part-I, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 333, 373.

³⁶ Abul Hasan, *Muraqat-i-Hasan*, MS. Raza Library, ed. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta, 1912, pp.51, 160. See also J.B.O.R.S,1916, Vol.II, pp.157-165.

³⁷ Abul fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit.,Vol.II, p.51.

³⁸ Shujan Rai, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, trs., Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in 'The India of Aurangzeb', Calcutta, 1901, p.31b.

³⁹ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.II, p. 51.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.52.

⁴¹ Bowery, Thomas, 'A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679', ed. Lt. Sir Richard Temple, Hakluty society, London,1905, pp.128-129. Point Palmyras was a head land in the Kendrapara subdivision; See *District Gazetteer of Cuttack*, 1933, p. 252.

⁴² Hamilton, Alexander, 'A New Account of the Indies being observations and remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton', ed. W. Foster, London, 1930, Vol.I, pp.215-216.

⁴³ Abul fazl in his *Ain* has describes about the abundance of elephants in Orissa.Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit.,Vol.II, p.51. Bowery also observed Orissa to be the homeland of the wild beast like- tigers, bears, and rhinoceros. Cf. Bowery, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679*, op.cit., p.196. we also got references that Iradat khan, the Bakhshi of Bihar sent some persons to Orissa to purchase elephants from there in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Cf. Mirza Nathan, *Baharistan-i- Ghaybi*, trs., Mohammad Islam Borah, Gauhati, 1936, Vol.I, p. 10.

domestic animals cow, oxen, sheep, goat, tame swine and camel were found in Orissa during the Mughal period.⁴⁴

The birds of various kinds like peacock, parrot, dove and pigeon were found in Orissa during the period under discussion.⁴⁵

Muslim Invasions of Orissa before the Mughals:

The eleventh century has great importance in the history of Orissa that, it was the period when the eastern Gangas of Kalinganagara⁴⁶ established their sway over Orissa and founded the Ganga dynasty which ruled upto the first half of the 15th century. Among the rulers of this dynasty, the most powerful was Anantavarman Chodaganga (1078 to 1147 A.D.) who defeated the king of Utkal and brought it under his rule. He also brought the whole of Orissa under one political authority and extended his dominions from the river Ganges to the Godavari.

It was the time when the political condition in the northern India was undergoing great changes on account of Turkish invasion under Muizuddin Muhammad-bin-Sam alias Mohammad Ghori who succeeded in establishing a Muslim state in India after defeating the Rajput rulers of the north India.

At this time Ikhtiyarud-din Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji, one of the general of Muiz-ud-din Muhammad, led the Turkish banner to the east and occupied Lakhnauti (the Sena capital) in the western Bengal. The conquest of western Bengal opened the road to Orissa. It was in the reign of Raja Raja-III (1198-1211 A.D) that the Muslims of Bengal invaded Orissa for the first time. This was the beginning of the Muslim invasions which continued to endanger Orissa till her final conquest by the Afghans in 1568 A.D. and later by the Mughals in 1592 A.D.

According to *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*⁴⁷ Ikhtiyar-ud-din Muhammad bin Khiliji had dispatched Muhammad-i-Sheran and his brother Ahmad-i-Sheran with a portion of his

⁴⁴ Bruton William, 'A Voyage to Bengal' or 'News From the East Indies' in Osbornes' collection of Voyages and Travels, 1752, Vol. II p.278; Account of Cuttack and Puri, in *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-X, No.3, 1961, p.49.

⁴⁵ Marshall, John, 'John Marshall in India' (1668-1672), ed., Shafeat Ahmed Khan, London, 1927, pp. 62-63; Manrique 'Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique (1628-1641)', Vol-II, trs., Luard and Hosten, Hakluyt society, London, 1926-27, p. 97.

⁴⁶ Identified as modern Makhalingam in the Ganjam district of Orissa.

⁴⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit., Vol.I, p. 432.

forces towards Lakhnor⁴⁸ and Jajnagar⁴⁹ in 1205 A.D. The results of this expedition were not recorded by *Minhaj-us-Siraj* (author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*). He mentioned that, while Ikhtiyar-ud-din was returning from the unsuccessful expedition to Kamrup, he was murdered by his commander Ali Mardan. On hearing the death of their master, the two Sheran brothers came back from Jajnagar and returned again to *Diw-Kot* or Devkot.⁵⁰

Any inscriptional evidence has so far been traced regarding the Muslim invasion during the period of Raja Raja-III in Orissa except the very meager account given by the Muslim historians seems to indicate that, the campaign against Jajnagar was not successful.

The second invasion of the Muslims took place during the reign of Anangabhim-III (the son and successor of Raja Raja-III) by Ghiyasuddin Iwaz⁵¹ (the son and successor of Ali Mardan Khalji). Minhaj in his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states that, Jajnagar sent tribute to Sultan Ghiyasuddin Iwaz of Bengal⁵².

The Chatesvara inscription (in the village of Krishanapur of Cuttack district) of Anangabhim-III alludes to his war with the *Yavanas* (probably the Muslim rulers of Bengal). In this inscription the conquest of the Tumhana country (modern Bilaspur district in Chattishgarh) and the defeat of the Yavana king by Visnu (the minister of Anangabhim-III) have been described in the verse 14th and 15th.⁵³

The verse fourteenth states 'The Vaikhanasas' could not have comprehended the omnipresence and pervasiveness of Visnu, even by their most austere penance, when "Tunghana Prithvipati" began to apprehending Visnu there, he look around through extreme fear, while fighting on the bank of the Bhima, at the skirts of the Vindhya hills on the seashore. The verse fifteenth describes that, 'what more shall I speak of his heroism? He alone fought against the Musalman king and applying

⁴⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit., p.437,f.n, Minhaj identified *Lakhnor* as Lakhnauti in his work.

⁴⁹ The Muslim historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries always have described Orissa as *Jajnagar* Cf., Afif, '*Tarikh-i-FirozShahi*,' op.cit., p.163.

⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op. cit., Vol-I, p.432.

⁵¹ After the death of Ikhtiyar-ud-din, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, Ali Mardan became Sultan of Bengal but he died after two years then his son Ghiyasuddin Iwaz succeeded him to the throne of Bengal in A.H. 612 (1215 A.D.). Cf. '*Riyazu-s-Salatin*', op. cit., p. 71. f.n.

⁵² '*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*', op. cit., Vol.I, p.437.

⁵³ *Visvakosha*, Cuttack, 1979, Vol.I, p. 229, See also *J.A.S.B.* (old series) LXVII-I, 1898, pp. 322ff.

arrows to his bow, killed many successful warriors. His heroism transcends descriptions’.

The Yavana king as described in the inscription was very likely the Muslim governor of Lakhnauti. There are different views as to the identity of king Tunghana Prithvipati, according to one scholar, Tunghana Prithvipati can be identical with Malik Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan of Lakhnauti⁵⁴. But M.M. Chakravarti⁵⁵, while writing on the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, states that, the king with whom Visnu fought was Tummana Prithvipati not Tughan Khan because the fight between Tughan Khan and the king of Orissa took place on 13 Shawwal A.H. 642 (March 1245), six years after Anangabhima had ceased to rule, therefore M.M. Chakravarti suggested that, the verses of Chatesvara refer to two battles fought by Visnu, one with the ruler of Tummana and the other with the Yavanas. He identifies the Yavana ruler with Ghiyasudiin Iwaz (1210-27.A.D). Who was an early contemporary of Anangabhima-III.

Although, the fight between Tughan Khan and the king of Orissa took place in 1245 A.D. six years after Anangabhima's reign but Tughan Khan was also his contemporary as he was the ruler of Lakhnauti from A.D. 1233 to 1244 A.D. Minhaj-us-Siraj has recorded Malik Izzuddin Tughril-i-Tughan Khan's fight with the Rae of Jajnagar in 641 A.H.(1243).⁵⁶

Minhaj also recorded in his celebrated work that, in the year 642 A.H. (1245 A.D.) the Raja of Jajnagar invaded the territory of Lakhnauti with a big army consisting of elephants and Payiks (footman) to avenge the plundering of Katasin by Tughan Khan. The date of invasion is given as Tuesday, the 13th of the month of Shawwal in 642 A.H. (14th March, 1245). The Raja of Orissa also slaughtered a large number of Muslims including Fakhr-ul-Mulk Karimuddin Laghri, the commandant of

⁵⁴ J.A.S.B, LXV, 1896, p.-233-34 and LXVII, 1898, p.319.

⁵⁵ J.A.S.B, LXXII, 1903, part-I. p.211n.

⁵⁶ Minhaj gives detailed account of Tughril's fight with the Rae of Jajnagar that in the year 641 A.H., the Rae of Jajnagar commenced molesting the Lakhnawati territory and in the month of Shawwal, 641 A.H. (Nov. 1243). Malik Tughril Tughan Khan marched towards the Jajnagar country in which Minhaj also accompanied him. So he was an eye witness and mentioned that the engagement with the army of Jajnagar took place at Katasin on Saturday, in the 6th of the month of Zi-Kadah, 641 A.H. (15 April, 1244), that in the first half of the day Muslim army had upper hand but later due to surprise attack of Hindu army of Rae of Jajnagar in Mid-day, Many Muslim warriors slain and Tughril-i-Tughan Khan returned to Lakhnauti. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit, Vol.II, pp.14-15.

Lakhnor. After taking the fort they appeared before the gate of Lakhnauti⁵⁷. Minhaj also mentioned the name of the leader of the force of Jajnagar campaign as Sabantar, the son-in-law of the Rae of Jajnagar.⁵⁸

The Inscriptions of the Anantabasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar helps us in corroborating the above statement of Minhajuddin Siraj (the author of *Tabaqat*). The English translation of that inscription states:

'On Chodaganga's lineage was like a flag the heroic Anangabhimha, whose profound strength was celebrated by the damsels of a multitude of hostile kings destroyed by his power and who was exceedingly proud of his horse, the speed of which surpassed that of the snakes foe or Garuda. He made an end of that war by defeating the Yavanas with impetuosity after entering into their territory beyond the frontier'.⁵⁹

The last sentence of this verse reminds us Minhaj's statement 'The infidel host on coming beyond the frontier of Jajnagar territory first took Lakhnauti. So it has been accepted that the fight between Raja of Jajnagar and Tughril of Lakhnauti took place during the reign of Narasimha Deva-I (son and successor of Anangabhimha-III).⁶⁰

Later Minhaj also recorded the invasion of Malik Yuzbak of Jajnagar with the help of the Sultan of Delhi in 653 A.H. (1255 A.D). He writes that Malik Yuzbak asked for assistance from the court of Delhi then marched with an army from Lakhnauti into the territory of Umurda and unexpectedly reached the Rae's capital. The Rae of that place retired before Malik Yuzbak and whole of the Rae's family dependents and followers and his wealth and elephants fell in the hands of the Musalman forces.⁶¹ But no such place was ever the capital of Orissa. Yuzbak might have captured an important fort of Jajnagar with some members of the royal family. A

⁵⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit, p.15.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p.31.

⁵⁹ *Epigraphica Indica*, XIII, p.153.

⁶⁰ The *Kendupatra* copper-plate grants of the Eastern Ganga king, *Narasimha Deva-II*, son of *Bhanudeva-I*, states that his grandfather *Narasimha Deva-I* (A.D. 1236-1264) conquered *Radha* and *Varendra* from the Yavanas or the ruler of Lakhnauti' (Verse- 84). Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, LXV. Part-I, 1896, p. 233.

⁶¹ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.31.

silver coin had been struck by Yuzbak from the mint of the Lakhnauti in 653 A.H. (1255 A.D.) in memory of his conquest of Umardan.⁶²

Contemporary Sanskrit literature also gives a number of references relating to the above subject that the Sanskrit book called '*Ekavali*' of Vidyadhara (who lived in the court of Narsimha Deva-I) provides several references to the king's fight with the Muslims (who was referred as Yavana) and called as '*Yavanavani Vallabha*' or the lord of the Yavana Kingdom (Varendra) who had invaded Orissa with the help of the Sultan of Delhi but he was defeated by Narasimha-I. The memory of the conquest of Narasimha over the combined army of Bengal and Delhi was proudly cherished by the people of Orissa and finds expression in a verse of a chapter of *Bhaktivamawat Mahakavyam* by Kavidimdim Jivadeva Acharya in 1509 A.D. The success of Narasimha Deva-I saved Orissa from Muslim aggressions for a long time and he built the famous Sun Temple at Konarka during this time of peace.⁶³

Narasimha Deva-I died in 1264 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Bhanudeva-I (1264 to 1279 A.D). During the last years of his reign Tughril Khan the governor of Bengal invaded Orissa in 678 A.H. (1275 A.D).⁶⁴ The object of his raid was probably to secure elephant for which Orissa was famous.

There is no reference of the Muslim invasion during the Khiliji period but during the reign of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq (1320-1325 A.D) his son Ulugh Khan (later Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq) invaded Orissa from the South after having conquered Warangal and Rajahmundry. Ziauddin Barani writes that Ulugh Khan invaded Jajnagar and took forty elephants from its ruler and returned to Tilang.⁶⁵ It was a mere raid not permanent conquest.

The Puri plates of Narasimha-IV record Bhanudeva-II's victory over a king named 'Gayasuddina'⁶⁶, who had been identified with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq.

Bhanudeva-III, the son of Narasimha-III succeeded to the throne in 1352, during his reign the decline of the eastern Ganga dynasty had become so marked that the neighboring states took advantage of the situation and raided Orissa from all sides.

⁶² Baneerji, R.D., '*History of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1931, Vol.I, p. 266.

⁶³ '*Orissa Historical Research Journal*', VIII, No. 2, 1959, pp. 118ff.

⁶⁴ Salim, Ghulam Hussain, '*Riyaz-us-Salatin*', op.cit., p. 79.

⁶⁵ Barni, '*Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*', op. cit., Vol-III, p. 234.

⁶⁶ J.A.S.B., LXIV-I, 1895, pp. 136, 146.

After assuming independence, Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah governor of Bengal led an expedition to Jajnar, where he obtained some elephants and returned to Lakhanuti.⁶⁷ But there is no reference of Shamsuddin Ilyas's raid of Orissa in other Muslim contemporary chronicles except the *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*⁶⁸ and later by Abul Fazl in 'Ain', Nizamuddin Ahmad and Ghulam Hossain. According to these authors the invasion of Ilyas Shah was crowned with success and he returned with abundance of plunder and elephants.⁶⁹ The success of Ilyas Shah might have been the result of the fact that, during the same time Orissa was also involved by king Bucarao (Bukka Ray of Vijaynagar). So Bhanudeva-III failed to check foreign invasions on two fronts⁷⁰.

But the Dharmalingeswar temple inscription gives a different history of the relation between Ilyas Shah of Bengal and his contemporary Ganga ruler of Orissa. The text of Dharmalingeswar temple inscriptions are as follows:

‘Ekam Chitramidam tu Pandava Suratranarte Senaparitranatam Pratigamy Vahu Vibhavainirjitya Dillipatim. Dvavismatyuree dantibhih Samamada Jaitrendiramutkal Ksnisayasa bhupati Suravara Stribhyasturuskanapi’

Dr. J. Nobel's translation of the above given inscription is given below:

‘But this was an unique and wonderful deed having set out to project the harassed army of the Sultan of Pandava and having by the stretch of his arm completely vanquished the ruler of Dilhi that king (Choda II) gave the goddess of victory together with twenty two great elephants to the king of Utkal and Turks to the excellent damsels of the God’.⁷¹

In view of the facts stated in this inscription, it appears that, Ilyas Shah sought the help of the Ganga king of Orissa Bhanudeva against the invasion of Firoz Shah in 1353-54.A.D.

The Dharmalingeswar temple Inscription shows the cordial relation between Bengal and Orissa that Bhanudeva sent military assistance to Haji Ilyas Shah of Bengal in the time of his need. If Ilyas Shah had invaded Orissa in 1351 A.D. then

⁶⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 523.

⁶⁸ *Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi*, trs., B.N. Roy, in *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.VIII,1942, p.73f.

⁶⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., pp. 523.

⁷⁰ ‘*Proceedings of Pakistan History Conference*’, 4th Session, 1954, p.220.

⁷¹ *E.I.*, Vol-XIX, eds., Dr. J. Nobel, pp. 157, See also *O.H.R.J.*- V, No. 1,1956, pp. 75 f.

why the king of Orissa would have helped Iliyas Shah from the danger, which was raised due to Firoz Shah's invasion of Bengal in 1353-54.A.D. So it is difficult to accept the fact of invasion of Orissa by Iliyas Shah in 1351.A.D. as alleged in the 'Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi'.

It was this factor that Firoz Shah led an invasion to Jajnagar in 1360 A.D to take revenge during the time of his second invasion of Bengal. Afif's 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi' gives a detailed account of the relation between Sultan Firoz Shah and Jajnagar, then under Bhanudeva-III the Rae of Jajnagar. The 'Tabqat-i-Nasiri'⁷² and Yahya Bin Ahmad's 'Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi'⁷³ have also references to this invasion of Firoz Shah. 'Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi'⁷⁴ gives a detailed account of Firoz Shah's expedition to Jajnagar with the exact route.

According to the Sirat-i-Firoz Shahi, during Firoz Shahi's second expedition to Bengal in 1358-1359 A.D., the Sultan halted at Jaunpur in July 1360, on his return journey to Delhi. At that time he received report of opulence of the kingdom of Orissa. In the words of the author when the news of the charms of this tract was conveyed to the Royal ears, it was honoured by his attention and the attention of his gracious mind was focused on journeying towards that quarter, with a view to extirpating Rai Gajpati, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temple, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country.⁷⁵ So Sultan leaving his baggage at Kara, started from Jaunpur and reached Bihar in about December 1360 A.D. from there he marched towards modern Pachet and next started for Sikhar in the district of Manbhum after reducing these territories to utter ruins, he reached Jajnagar. The first town of the kingdom to be invaded was Tinnagar, where the inhabitants put up some struggle but ultimately the town was subdued. Next the Imperial army marched on Kinianagar (the former capital of Mayurbhanj), from there the Sultan's army turned Southward and swiftly marched through Keonjhar to reach the frontier of the Cuttack region. The Sultan's army captured and massacred a detachment of the Orissa army which was sent by the Rai of Jajnagar to resist the invader. The Sultan made a swift march and arrived at Sarangarh, five miles south-west of Cuttack. Aynul

⁷² Afif, 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, op.cit., pp.163-172.

⁷³ Yahya bin Ahmad Sirhandi, *Tarikh-i-MubarakShahi*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 129-130.

⁷⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, VIII, 1942, pp. 74-75.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*,

Mulk Mahru (who as it appears was present at Cuttack during the campaign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq) also refers to the reduction of Sarangarh by the sultan⁷⁶ and fled of the king of Orissa towards Chattargarh leaving the city to his headman.⁷⁷

According to Afif 'the Rae of Jainagar, when heard of the Sultan's army, embarked on a boat in great alarm and took refuge on the water, all his country was thrown into confusion, some of the inhabitants were made prisoner, other fled to the hills.⁷⁸ The island where the Rae took shelter appears to be the island of Dhableswar and it is possible that the king went to Dhableswar from Chouduar.⁷⁹ When the sultan heard that the Rae had taken refuge in an island in the river, pursued him and on the way spent some time in hunting wild elephant. Next he proceeded to destroy the temple of Jagannath. After its destruction, the stone image of Jagannath was perforated and disgraced.⁸⁰ Then the Rae of Jainagar sent elephants to Firoz Shah through his agents⁸¹ to conclude a treaty of peace. The Raja gave twenty elephants as an offering and agreed to furnish a certain amount of revenue yearly to imperial court of Delhi. Then Sultan sent robes and insignia of crown to Raja of Orissa by the patras and returned to Delhi after concluding an elephant hunt in Padmatala.⁸²

As far as the episode of the destruction of the Jagannath temple by Firoz Shah is concerned, there is a controversy among scholars but from the point of stone image of the Jagannath, it is clear that it was not the Jagannath temple of Puri rather of the Jagannath temple of Cuttack, which was built by Anangabhimha-III.⁸³ Afif mentioned that 'Inside king Bhanu's fort there was a stone idol, which the infidels called Jagannath, to which the Sultan destroyed and carried to Delhi.'⁸⁴

Bhanudeva was succeeded by his son Narasimha-IV in 1378 A.D. There are references of invasion of Orissa by Malik-us-Sharq (the first ruler of Sharqi dynasty)

⁷⁶ J.A.S.B., XIX, 1953 pp. 285 ff.

⁷⁷ O.H.R.J. I, No.1, 1952, pp. 31ff.

⁷⁸ Afif, 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi', op.cit., p.164.

⁷⁹ O.H.R.J., I, No. 1, 1952, p.34, f.n.

⁸⁰ Afif, 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi', op.cit., pp.169-170.

⁸¹ In the life and letters of *Malik Aynul Mulk Mahru* it is stated that the Rae of Jainagr sent elephant through his agent Ahmad Khan and Bali Patra and other three Patra. Cf. Afif 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi', op.cit., p.170; See also J.A.S.B., Vol.XIX, (1953), p. 286.

⁸² Afif, *Tarikh-i- Firoz Shahi*, op.cit., p.171-172; J.A.S.B., VIII, (1942) pp. 72

⁸³ *Nagari Copper Plates* shows that Anangabhimha III, installed the deity of Purushottama at Abhinaba, Varanasi in 1230. A.D. Cf., *Journal of Oriental Research.*, XVII, (1950), E.I., Vol. XXVII, pp. 247 f.

⁸⁴ Afif, 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi', op.cit., pp.169-170.

of Jaunpur. It is said that Malik-us-Sharq invaded Jajnagar and compelled the Rae to pay him tribute.⁸⁵ Badauni also described that Sultan Malik-us-Sharq of Jaunpur proceeded as far as Jajnagar and took possession of it and acquired a large number of elephants and other valuable properties.⁸⁶ According to Nizamuddin Ahmad 'the Rae of Jajnagar and the Badshah of Lakhnauti sent presents and tribute yearly to Sultan of Jaunpur, which they had sent to the Sultan Firoz Shah.'⁸⁷

According to Tabqat-i-Nasiri, the Bahmani Sultan Tajuddin Firoz Shah also invaded Orissa in 815.H. (1412 A.D) and carried away a large number of elephants as tribute⁸⁸ during the last year of Narasimha Deva-IV's reign.

After the death of Narasimha-IV, his son Nissanka Bhanudeva-IV succeeded him in 1414 A.D. He was the last ruler of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa and died childless then his minister Kapilesvara Routray ascended to the throne and led the foundation of the Suryavamsi dynasty (Solar dynasty) in 1435 A.D.

Kapilesvara Routray was also known as Kapilendra Deva. He was a strong monarch of Orissa. During the time of his accession the incursions of Muslim governors of Bengal from the North-Eastern part and the Sultans of Bahmani and Raja's of Vijaynagar from the Southern part became frequent due to the weakness of the later Ganga ruler of Orissa. So Kapilendra Deva took both offensive and defensive measures to save Orissa from its neighboring states.

The first expedition of Kapilendra was against the ruler of Bengal Shams-uddin Abdul Mujahid Ahmad Shah, who was defeated by Gopinath Mahapatra, (a minister of Kapileswar).⁸⁹ From the wall inscription of the Jagannath Temple, Kapilendra Deva's fight with the Sultan Malik Parisa of Gauda is known, after this victory Kapilendra took the title of 'Gaudasvara' (Lord of Gauda).⁹⁰ Malik Parisa probably was Sultan Nasruddin, who ruled Bengal from 1442-1449 A.D., Kapilendra

⁸⁵ *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, trs., H.G.Raverty, Bib. Ind. Series, 1881, Calcutta, reprint, (1970), Delhi, Vol.I, p. 589. f.n.

⁸⁶ Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh*, ed. Maulvi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1868, Vol.I, p. 264.

⁸⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 126.

⁸⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, trs., op.cit., Vol-I, p. 592.f.n.

⁸⁹ The *Gopinath inscription* also records the defeat of the Bengal Sultan. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, LXII (1893), pp.173,ff . See also *J.A.S.B.*, LXII, (1893), pp. 91f.

⁹⁰ After Kapilendra's victory over *Malik Parisa* (the Sultan of Gauda) he presented a precious '*Sari*' named '*Pundarika Gopa*' to Lord Jagannath Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, LXIX, Part-I (1893), pp. 92 ff.

also conquered the narrow coastal strip to the west of the river Hoogly including the fort of Mandaran. But it appears that he could not retain his hold on Mandaran.⁹¹

According to the *Risalat-us-Suhada*, Ismail Ghazi the commander of the Bengal Sultan Barbak Shah (1459-1474 A.D.) completely defeated the Gajapati Raja of Mandaran who had defied the authority of the Sultan.⁹²

Later Kapilendra Deva also defeated the army of Humayun Shah (1458-61 A.D.), (the Sultan of Bahmani dynasty) while, he was approached by the Velema chiefs of Telingana for help. The Oriya army of Kapilendra Deva defeated the army of Humayun Shah at Devarakonda.⁹³ Ferishta also admits the total defeat of the Muslims by the Oriya army and the vanquished army was pursued for eighty miles.⁹⁴ Sarala Das, the contemporary Oriya poet of Kapilendra also mentions about the battle of Devarakonda and victory of Kapilendra in his work '*Oriya Mahabharata*'.⁹⁵

Later Kapilendra became the master of the whole of Telingana and the Bahmanis never again attempted to conquer any part of Telingana during the life time of Kapilendra, even after the death of Humayun Shah in 1461 A.D. He also invaded the Bahmani kingdom allied with the Kakatiya chief of Warangal and in conjunction with the Zamindars of Telingana. He also plundered the city of Bidar and advanced ten miles from the capital, which is also proved from his title of the *Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti-Karnata-Kalavargesvara*.⁹⁶

There are also references to the conquest of Orissa by the Sultans of Jaunpur during the reign of Kapilendra Deva that Mahmud Shah (1440-58 A.D), the fourth ruler of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur said to have led an expedition against the ruler of Orissa. Nizamuddin Ahmad in his work stated that, 'Mahmud advanced into the country of Orissa with the object of Jihad and the intention of becoming a Ghazi and plundering and devastating that country. He pulled down and destroyed idols,

⁹¹ Mukherji, P. '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1973, p. 28.

⁹² A fort at Mandaran is associated with Ismail Ghazi's name. There is a large gate, South of Mandaran which is known as *Uriya Mardana* (the discomfiture of the Oriyas), According to tradition this gate was built by Ismail Ghazi, probably to commemorate his victory over the Oriyas Cf. *J.A.S.B.* (1874), p. 216; "*Notes on Gaud and other places*" by M.M. Chakravarti in *J & P. A.S.B.*, (1909), p.131, See also, '*The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*', op.cit., p. 28.

⁹³ Aziz ullah, '*Burhan-i-Ma'asir*' in *The Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, 1896, p. 204

⁹⁴ Ferishta Mohammad Qasim, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, ed. Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1323.H. Vol-I, p.340.

⁹⁵ *J.A.H.R.S.*, XXV, (1958-60), pp.19ff.

⁹⁶ *O.H.R.J.*, III, No. 4 (1954), p. 174

temples, returned with triumph and victory in the year 862 A.H. (1458 A.D) and he was united with the divine Mercy.⁹⁷ Ferishta also gives references of invasion of Orissa by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur.⁹⁸ According to '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*' Sultan Husain Shah of Jaunpur also invaded Orissa. Nizamuddin described as that.

Husain Shah collected three hundred thousand horses and fourteen hundred elephants and advance towards the country of Orissa. When he arrived in the country of Orissa he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the various parts of the country. The Rae of Orissa, in great distress and helplessness made his submission by sending an agent to wait on the Sultan, prayed for the pardon of his fault and presented thirty elephants and one hundred horses as tribute. Sultan Husain returned to Jaunpur crowned with victory and triumph.⁹⁹ The same account also found in *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*.¹⁰⁰

Husain Shah's invasion of Orissa is also proved from the corroborative evidences that a hoard of 71 copper coins of Jaunpur Sultans was discovered in 1950 A.D. at Deogarh, the headquarter of the Bamra sub-division.¹⁰¹ This constitutes the first find of Jaunpur sultan's coins in Orissa.

After the death of Kapilendra Deva, a war of succession was fought among his sons Purusottama and Hamvira¹⁰², in which Hamvira sought the help of Bahmani sultan Mohammad Shah-III, who sent his general Malik Hassan Bheiry to assist Hamvira, the Bahamani general defeated Purusottama Deva and placed Hamvira on the throne of Orissa and got the area of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu as a reward for the services rendered to him.¹⁰³ But after the departure of Bahamani army, Hamvira failed to retain the throne of Orissa and was totally defeated by Purushottam Deva.

⁹⁷ '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*', op.cit., pp. 531-532..

⁹⁸ Ferishta, '*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*', op. cit., Vol-II, p. 308.

⁹⁹ '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*', op.cit., p. 532.

¹⁰⁰ 'Husain Shah marched to Orissa and on reaching that province he caused his troops to disperse in detachments, in order to lay waste the country. The Rae of Orissa, unable to oppose the sudden inroad, and perceived no remedy but submission and in order to conciliate the invader, the Rae sent thirty elephant and a hundred horses and various articles including silken and other clothes, with Hussain Shah being satisfied he returned to Jaunpur.' Cf. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol-II, pp.309-310.

¹⁰¹ *O.H.R.J.*, II, No. 2, (1953), pp. 49 ff.

¹⁰² *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.-III, No. 4,(1954) p. 174; Hamvira has been mentioned as Ambur Ray by Ferista. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol-I, p.350.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 350-351.

Who regained the throne of Orissa.¹⁰⁴ Later both the brothers appear to have been reconciled, as Hamvira was allowed to rule Khimidi as a vassal of Purushottama.¹⁰⁵

The throne of Orissa was not a bed of roses for Purushottam because, his enemies from both the north-eastern side and the southern side raise their direct hand towards the territory of Orissa, although Purushottam Deva was succeeded in regaining the southern portion like Rajahmundry and Kondapalli after defeating 'Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahiri' (the general of Bahmani Sultan Muhammad-III) and reach up to the bank of Godavari.¹⁰⁶ But, the Sultan Muhammad-III himself marched with a large army against the Raja of Orissa and defeated Purushottama Deva's governor of Rajahmundry in 822 A.H. (1477 A.D). The Raja of Orissa sued for peace and gave 25 elephants to the Sultan Muhammad as the condition of treaty.¹⁰⁷ Sultan Muhammad again bestowed the charge of Rajahmundry upon Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahiri.¹⁰⁸ Subsequently, Sultan Muhammad also captured the fort of Kandavidu from Hamvira (the elder brother of Purushottama Deva).¹⁰⁹

When the Bahmani Empire plunged into confusion as a result of the execution of the great statesman Muhammad Gawan Gilani on the 5th April 1481 A.D.¹¹⁰ Muhammad-III was failed to bring order and the Bahmani empire divided into many small states. This situation gave Purushottam Deva a golden opportunity to regain his lost territories in the southern part of his empire. He seized both Rajahmundry and Kondavidu and over run the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab including the Guntur district.¹¹¹ Thus towards the end of his rule, Purushottama was able to recover the lost territories of his ancestral kingdom.

¹⁰⁴ J.A.H.R.S., XXV, (1958-60), pp. 19ff.

¹⁰⁵ J.A.H.R.S., XXXVIII, (1973-74), pp. 286.

¹⁰⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., pp.428-429; *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol.-I, p.353.

¹⁰⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.429.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.429. See also *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, op.cit, pp. 288ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, op.cit., Vol-I, pp.353-354; Azizullah writes that immediately after the reduction of Kondavidu, the Sultan proceeded against Narsingh Ray in 1481.Cf. *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, op.cit., p. 189.

¹¹⁰ According to ferishta Nizam-ool-Moolk, the enemy of Muhammad Gawan forged a letter, supposed to have been written to the king of Orissa by Gawan asking the king to invade the Bahmani kingdom, without enquiry Muhammad ordered for the execution of his able minister Gawan in 1482 A.D. Cf. '*Tarikh-i-Ferishta*', op.cit; Vol-II p.506; '*Burhan-i-Ma'asir*,' op.cit., p. 292; '*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*,' op.cit., pp.429-430.

¹¹¹ J.A.S.B, LXIX,(1900), p.183, See also Sewel, '*A Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*', p.48; *E.I*, XIII, pp. 155 ff.

After the death of Purushottam, Prataprudra Dava (1497-1541) succeeded to throne but his reign show the decline of the power of Orissa. His two great opponents were Quli Qutb Shah of Golkunda in the South and Allauddin Husain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.) of Bengal in the north.

According to '*Bhakti Bhagavata Maha Kavyam*' 'Purushottama died on the banks of Chitropala (verse-24) and his son Rudra (Prataprudra) became Kalapataru(king). He was then seventeen years of age (verse-26), while his hair was still wet with bath of coronation, he defeated the Sultan of Gauda (a conqueror of many battles) and at the end of the sixty week of his father's death, he offered handfuls of Ganges water for the benefit of his father (verse-27).¹¹²

From the above verses, it is evident that Alauddin Husain Shah was defeated and driven out from Orissa by Prataprudra Deva. After this, for a long period the Sultan of Bengal did not led invasion to Orissa but when the king of Orissa was in far flung south, Sultan Husain Shah of Bengal sent large army in 1509 A.D. and desecrated the temple of Jagannath of Puri and returned with the news of the march of Prataprudra Deva from the southern part. The Portugese traveler Barbosa who visited Bengal in the 16th century states that Orissa was for sometimes at war with the kingdom of Bangala.¹¹³ Buchanan's manuscript gives Husain Shah the credit of conquering Orissa.¹¹⁴

Brindaban Das, the Vaishnavite writer, states that, in course of his war with Orissa, Husain Shah destroyed a number of Hindu temples.¹¹⁵ Madla Panji also mentions the invasion of Husain Shah that 'In the 17th Anka of this king (Pratarudra) the Mughal¹¹⁶ invaded from Bengal and occupied Cuttack at this time the protector of Cuttack was Bhoi Bidyadhar, who fled away to Sarangarh. The idol of Jagannath was also taken away (by the Pandas) in a boat and was kept in the top of the Chadaiguha mountain near Chilika lake. The Madla panji mentions that "Amura Surathana (sultan of Gauda) entered Puri and destroyed the idols in the Jagannath temple. The king

¹¹² O.H.R.J., I, No. 3 (1952), p. 223

¹¹³ Barbosa, Durate, "A description of the coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 16th century", Cf. O.H.R.J., Vol.-II, July, 1953, p. 134

¹¹⁴ Martin, 'Eastern India', op.cit., Vol.-II, p. 619.

¹¹⁵ Das, Brindaban, 'Chaitanya Bhagavata', antya, Ch-IV, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 350-351, See also I.H.Q., XXXII (March, 1956), No.I, p. 62, f.n. 18.

¹¹⁶ In Madla Panji the Muslim has mistakenly written as Mughal because during the period the Mughal was not in India scenario. *Madla Panji* ed. A.B. Mohanty, Prachi samiti, 1932, reprint by Sahitya Akademy Orissa, Bhubaneswar, 2001, p.35.

(Prataprudra) had gone in the southern expedition where he received this news, so he in anger covered the path of one month in ten days, on receipt of this news Alapati Surathana (Sultan) fled away from Puri.¹¹⁷ The account of the Madla Panji has also been corroborated by the account of Katarajavamsavali.¹¹⁸ The Sylhet inscription of Husain Shah dated 914 A.H. (1512 A.D.) also throws some light on this event of Orissa invasion.¹¹⁹

Husain Shah died in 1519 A.D and was succeeded by his son Qutub Shah, who also led an invasion to Orissa after his coronation to take revenge of his father's defeat. Prataprudra fought a severe battle with Qutub Shah. A large number of Muslim soldiers were slain in this battle and the Sultan of Bengal was totally defeated and signed a treaty of friendship with Prataprudra. Thereafter Prataprudra returned to his capital Cuttack.¹²⁰ After that defeat, the Muslims of Bengal did not dare to invade Orissa during the life time of Prataprudra and upto the time of Mukunda Deva.

Prataprudra Deva was succeeded by Govinda Vidyadhara. According to Madla Panji, the Sultan of Golconda invaded Orissa in the 7th Anka or the 6th year of his reign.¹²¹ So Govinda Vidyadhara went to the south to meet him. He remained in the south for eighteen months then he suddenly returned to north Orissa due to rebellion of his nephew Raghu Bhanja Chhotarai¹²² by the assistance of his ally named Abdul Shah of Bengal.¹²³ Although Govinda Vidyadhar succeeded in suppressing the rebels¹²⁴ but his army was defeated by the Sultan Quli Qutub Shah of Golconda in 1540 A.D. and Orissa lost the territory between the Godavari and Krishna rivers¹²⁵ to Golconda. From that time Simanchalam remained as the southern boundary of Orissa,

¹¹⁷ *Madla Panji*, op.cit., p.35.

¹¹⁸ '*Katarajavamsavali*', op.cit., MSS. No.67, pp. 90-91.

¹¹⁹ *J.A.S.B*, Pl IX,(1922), p. 413

¹²⁰ '*Madla Panji*', op.cit, p. 35

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.37.

¹²² It appears that Raghu Bhanja was the nephew of Prataprudra & not Govinda Vidyadhara, According to the "Bhanja Vansa Malika" of Mayurbhanj, one Jagannath Bhanja married the sister of Prataprudra and received Baripada Dandapata as dowry. Raghu was probably his son, claimed the throne of Orissa after the death of Prataprudra's sons. Cf. '*The Gajapati kings of Orissa*' op.cit., p.108, f.n. 200.

¹²³ Abdul Shah was probably the predecessor of Muhammad khan Sur. Cf. R.D. Banerjee, '*History of Orissa*, Vo.-I, p. 339.

¹²⁴ '*Madla Panji*', op.cit, pp. 35-38.

¹²⁵ Sewell, '*Historical Inscriptions of South India*', Madras, 1967,p. 248.

which is also clear from the four inscription of Govinda Vidyadhar issued in his 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 8th Anka year.¹²⁶

Govinda Vidyadhara died in 1549 A.D. He was succeeded, according to Madla Panji by his son Chakrapratap, who ruled for eight years and was assassinated by his son Narasimha Jena. After a short period he was also assassinated then his younger brother Raghuram rose to the throne by Mukunda Harichandan(who was the general of Chakrapratap and governor of katak under Govinda Vidyadhara). Later Mukunda Harichandan killed Raghuram and ascended to the throne of Orissa as Mukunda Deva 1559 A.D.¹²⁷ He was the last independent king of Orissa and a man of exuberant energy but surrounded by traitors and enemies from all sides. His short reign of eight years was spent in continual warfare that before he could succeed in making himself secure on the throne of Orissa, the northern part of the country was captured by Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of the Sur dynasty of Bengal in 1560 A.D. who had conquered northern Orissa as far as Jajpur and also established a mint at that place (only one coin of that mint has been discovered so far). That silver coin of Jajpur¹²⁸ shows that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of Bengal also assisted Raghubhanja Chhotarai in his invasion of Orissa. If the Madla Panji is to be believed then Mukunda Harichandana drove out the Sultan Ghiyasuddin Jalal Shah of Bengal and imprisoned Raghubhanja.¹²⁹

When anarchy was prevalent in Delhi after the death of Islam Shah and enthronement of Muhammad Adil Shah, Ibrahim Khan Sur (the ruler of Bengal) declared independence and captured the throne of Delhi but he was defeated by Sikandar Shah (the ruler of Punjab) in 1554 A.D. and fled away from Delhi. He lost his confidence after his defeat by Adil Shah and returned to Bengal. During this time Sulaiman Karrani was ruler of Bengal, who thought him as his rival for throne and tried to imprison him but Ibrahim any how fled away to Orissa and sought asylum in the Raja of Orissa in 1559 A.D. Unfortunate for Orissa, Mukunda Deva gave an honorable shelter to Ibrahim Khan Sur and also granted some lands for his

¹²⁶ 'Madla Panji', op.cit, pp. 35-38, See also *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-No.4 (1956), p.221-22, 217 ff.

¹²⁷ 'Madla Panji', op.cit, p. 39.

¹²⁸ Thomas, Edward, 'The Chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi', London, 1871, p. 417, See also *J.A.S.B.*, LXIX (1900), p. 189.

¹²⁹ 'Madla Panji', op. cit., pp. 39-40.

maintenance. Mukunda Deva also refused to surrender him to the Sultan of Bengal.¹³⁰ So the Sultan Sulaimna Karrani became an irreconcilable enemy of the king of Orissa.

There were other reasons for Sultan Sulaiman's anger on the Raja of Orissa that, Mukunda Deva had once penetrated to Satganow (near Hughli) in south Bengal and built a ghat on the Ganges there¹³¹ and he was also signed a treaty with the Padshah Akbar against him.¹³²

While, the Mughal emperor Akbar was planning the conquest of Bengal, he considered it necessary to enter into an alliance (defensive and offensive) with Mukunda deva (Raja of Orissa) in order to attack the Afghan Sultan Sulaiman Karrani from both sides. So, Akbar in 1565 A.D sent Hasan Khan Khajanchi and Bhatta Mahapatra (an Oriya musician in the Mughal Court) as envoys to the court of Mukunda Deva to enlist his support in case of a conflict with the Sultan of Bengal.¹³³ Mukunda Deva 'bound the girdle of service on the waist of his soul and committed that if Sulaiman would not submit to Akbar, he would collect an army and bring Ibrahim, who was Sulaiman's enemy against Bengal.¹³⁴ Akbar's envoy also requested Mukunda Deva not to give shelter to rebel Ali Quli Khan Zaman.¹³⁵ The envoys also remained in the court of Mukunda Deva for four months and were sent back with costly presents and some elephants. Mukunda Deva's ambassador, Parmanand also accompanied them to the imperial court.¹³⁶

Mukunda Deva's friendship with Akbar led to the growth of enmity between Mukunda Deva and Sulaiman Karrani.¹³⁷ According to Madla Panji 'In the 10th Anka, Mukunda Deva encamped on the banks of the Ganges and indulged in military practice in boats on the river. This was the last time when the Oriya army reached the

¹³⁰ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1881, Vol.II, p. 254.

¹³¹ 'Madla Panji', ed. A.B. Mohanty, in 'Prachina Gadyapadyadarsa', Cuttack, 1956, p.63.

¹³² Abul Fazl, 'Akbarnama', op. cit., Vol.II, p. 255.

¹³³ 'When Akbar planning the conquest of Bengal, Ali Quli Khan Zaman (a son of Akbar's one of the officials) rose in futile rebellion and become a menace to the Delhi throne and came to Bengal to seek assistance of Sulaiman Karrani, Cf. *Muntakhabu'-t-Tawarikh*, ed. Captain William Lowe and Munshi Ahmad Ali, Calcutta, 1865, Vol.II, pp.76-77.

¹³⁴ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.II, pp.254-255.

¹³⁵ *Muntakhabat-us-Tawarikh*, op.cit., Vol.-II, p. 77.

¹³⁶ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-II, p.255.

¹³⁷ Mukunda Deva established friendship with the Padshah of Delhi so became the enemy of the Sultan of Gaud (Bengal). Cf. *Madla Panji*, op. cit., p. 63.

banks of the Ganga (Hughli).¹³⁸ Even Mukunda Deva has plundered a strip of Sultan's territory which added fuel to the fire.¹³⁹ So Sultan of Bengal was provoked to launch campaigns against Orissa in the opportune time, which he got in 1568 A.D. when Akbar was engaged in the conquest of far flung Rajput territory of Chittor that taking advantage of Akbar's preoccupation in the siege of Chittor, Sulaiman planned for an attack of Orissa and he marched against Orissa in the winter of 1568 A.D.¹⁴⁰

The Afghan army was divided into two parts, the first was led by Sulaiman Karrani himself and the second under the command of his son Bayazid assisted by Kalapahar.¹⁴¹ The Bengal army proceeded through the highlands of Mayurbhanj and entered the coastal area near Balasore. In this critical situation, Mukunda Deva did not receive any help from the Mughals. Though he had deputed two of his officers Chhotarai and Raghubhanja¹⁴² to meet the invaders but they proved traitors and reduced the troops from their loyalty to attack their own master, this created the worse situation for Mukunda deva. But Mukunda Deva did not loose his confidence and decided to fight alone but could not withstand the pressure of the Bengal army and forced to take shelter in the fort of Kotisima on the western bank of Damodar river, in the district of Hughli.

The Bengal army under the command of Kala Pahar reached to the gates of Cuttack, defeated its incharge Gopi Sawant Sinhar then plundered the place and

¹³⁸ Blochmann views that "the high and broad Triveni ghat a magnificent flight of steps said to have been built by Mukunda deva the last Gajapati of Orissa". Cf. '*Arabic and Persian Inscriptions*' in the Hughli district, Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, 1870 p. 282. According to Mukherjee- A bathing ghat on the Hughli (which was the main stream of the Ganga at that time) at Triveni is still associated with the name of Mukunda Deva, who built this ghat probably to commemorate his achievement. '*The Gajapati kings of Orissa*', op. cit., p.113, f.n. 210.

¹³⁹ The Rajah (Mukunda) did naval practice in the river Ganges. This news alarmed the Sultan of Gauda, He marched with a number of Soldier but defeated. Cf. *Madla Panji*, op. cit., p. 63.

¹⁴⁰ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, pp.326-327.

¹⁴¹ According to local a tradition, *Kalapahar* was originally a Brahmin but lost caste through a contrivance of the princess of Gaura, who was smitten with the manly beauty of this person. He then married her, turned Musselman and became a relented persecutor of the adherents of the faith and led invasion of Orissa as general of Sulaiman. Cf. '*An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*', op.cit., p. 83.

¹⁴² Raja Mukunda Deva sent Raghu Bhanja at liberty and sent him with another officer, probably Ramachandra Bhanja, to oppose Bayazid who was marching towards the capital through Mayurbahnj. Mukunda Deva choosed these Bhanja officer because of their familiarity with Bhanja region. But they had no mind to serve Mukunda Deva and took up arms against him. Raghu Bhanja was a claimant to the throne of Orissa. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, pp.610-611; Beveridge mentioned *Durga Bhanja* in his translation instead of *Raghu Bhanja*, suggested by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in this work the '*History of Bengal*', Dacca, 1948, Vol.-II, p.183, See also '*The Gajapati kings of Orissa*', op.cit., pp. 113.f.n., 211.

treasury.¹⁴³ At that critical time, Rama Chandra Bhanja (the in charge of Sarangagarh) declared himself the king of Orissa, when this news reached to the besieged king Mukunda Deva at Kotisima, he patched up a treaty with Sulaiman Karrani and hastened back to Cuttack.¹⁴⁴

Akbarnama and Madla Panji give different views about the final defeat and death of Raja Mukunda Deva, According to Akbarnama, 'Mukunda Deva was killed in the battle that took place with Durga Bhanja.'¹⁴⁵ Where as Madla Panji says that Mukunda Deva was beheaded by Ramchandra Bhanja in the battle that took place after the peace treaty with Sulaiman. But Ramachandra Bhanja was killed by the army of the Sultan on the same day. Subsequent to it, Raghu Bhanja declared himself as the king of Orissa but he was also killed by Sulaiman Karrani.¹⁴⁶

Thus Orissa came under the possession of the Afghans of Bengal¹⁴⁷ and Muslim rule was established here for the first time. Although the Afghan ruled nearly two decade over Orissa but failed to consolidate their rule and involved themselves in the fight with the Mughals who defeated Afghans and Orissa became the part of the Mughal territory.

The Mughal-Afghan Conflict in Orissa:

After the second battle of Panipath, the Afghans had deprived from the Delhi throne but never accepted their defeat as a 'fait accompli'. They migrated towards the eastern provinces, particularly to Bengal and Orissa and made their strong base to fight against the Mughals. Orissa was their last resort and refuge where they built up a strong anti-Mughal confederacy.

Although the Mughals were great conqueror of India and their territorial boundary were extended up to Kabul and Balkh in North-Western part but they faced very hard opposition by the Afghans in the Bengal and Orissa.

¹⁴³ 'Katakarajavamsavali, op. cit., MSS No. 75, p. 95. He mention Koli Samantaraya as the in charge of Cuttack during the time of Kalapahar's invasion. See also 'An Account (Geographical, Statistical, Historical) Orissa Proper Or Cuttack, op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁴⁴ Madla Panji, op.cit., p. 60

¹⁴⁵ Beveridge reads this name as Durga Panj in his translation of Akbarnama, Abul Fazl, Akbarnama, trs., Beveridge, Delhi, 1993, Vol-III, pp. 933-34, which is the incorrect name of Raghu Bhanja.

¹⁴⁶ 'MadlaPanji', op.cit., p.60, See also 'The History of Orissa, Calcutta, 1930, Vol.I, p. 339ff.

¹⁴⁷ Katakarajavamsavali" describes the Afghans of Bengal ruled over Orissa for 19 years. Cf. Katakrajavamsavali, op.cit., MSS. No. 77, p. 96.

Orissa had been a Hindu country up to the middle of the 16th century and the Matreswar river was the dividing line between the Muslim kingdom of the north and Hindu kingdom of Orissa in the South. But the Afghan invasion under Sulaiman Karrani¹⁴⁸ in 1568 A.D changed the situation and for the first time the Muslim rule was established in Orissa. But before the Afghan rule had been consolidated in the newly conquered land Sulaiman Karrani died in 1572 A.D.¹⁴⁹ He was succeeded by his son Bayazid who was a proud and self-willed young man, he turned the Afghan chiefs, who were the staunch supporters of his father against himself by his insolence arrogance and cruelties. As a result, he was assassinated by Hansu, the nephew and son-in-law of Sulaiman Karrani.¹⁵⁰ Then Daud Karrani, younger son of Sulaiman Karrani collected a force and marched against Hansu who had taken refuge in Qutlu Lohani's camp but the Lohanis, in order to save their skin, handed over Hansu to Daud to be executed by the latter.¹⁵¹

Although Sulaiman Karrani had acknowledged nominal allegiance to Akbar in 1565 A.D. but after his death, his successor Daud ascended the throne and at the instigation of the Afghan noble he assumed all the insignia of royalty, ordered Khutba to be read in Mosque in his name and struck coins in his own name.¹⁵² Though he had inherited a vast treasure and a strong army from his father¹⁵³ but this act of Daud and his eagerness of demonstrating his power brought him into the long expected clash with the Mughals.

Daud also acted foolishly that by the instigation of some selfish noble like Qutlu Lohani (the governor of Orissa) and Gujar Karrani, he brought about a fatal breach with Mian Lodi Khan and other veteran Afghans, he even treacherously murdered every kinsman who might have had the slightest prospect of the throne.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Sulaiman Karrani was one of the grandees of Sher Shah who appointed him as governor of the Subah of Behar, he became the independent king of Bengal after the death of his brother Taj Khan and conquered Orissa in the year 975 A.H. (1568 A.D.), Cf. *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op.cit., pp. 151, 152.

¹⁴⁹ Sulaiman had accepted sovereignty of Akbar and Sent presents and gifts occasionally up to the time of the death in 918 A.H. Cf. *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op. cit., p. 153.

¹⁵⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit. p.313; Ni'matullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, ed. Imam al-Din, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1960, Vol.I, p.416.

¹⁵¹ *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op. cit., p. 154. But according to *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, Sulaiman Karrani's wazir Mian Lodi Khan had killed Hansu and placed him on the throne, Cf. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, ed. Sheikh Abdur Rashid, Aligarh, 1954, p.205.

¹⁵² *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, op.cit., p.416.

¹⁵³ He had 40,000 wall mounted cavalry and 3,300 elephants and 140,000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, match locker and racketeers and archers, Cf. *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, op. cit., p. 154.

¹⁵⁴ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., pp.119-121. See also *Tarikh-i-Badauni*, trs., E&D, op.cit., Vol.-V, pp.511-512,

This led to the disruption of the Karrani house and its consequence was the establishment of the Mughal first in Bengal later in Orissa.

On the other hand when the emperor Akbar was informed that Daud had assumed the title of king and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna which was built by Khan-i-Zaman (the ruler of Jaunpur). So Akbar immediately issued a farman to Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan directing him to chastise Daud and to conquer the country of Bihar.¹⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Akbar also sent Raja Todar Mal at the head of a large army to strengthen the hands of Munim Khan, then stationed in the outskirts of Bihar.¹⁵⁶ Akbar also issued an urgent order calling upon the Mughal officers and fief-holders in Bihar to act harmoniously together and not to deviate from the instruction of Munim Khan. Within a short time Khan-i-Alam arrived with the reinforcement and Munim Khan attacked Bihar and besieged Daud Karrani in Patna. After long besiegement as Munim Khan could not defeat Daud, so Akbar in person arrived in Patna. Patna thus fell into Mughal hands, who secured abundant booty in money, goods and especially noted elephants¹⁵⁷ but Daud fled to Bengal. Akbar immediately sent a detachment in pursuit of Daud but the detachment returned without having met the object of their pursuit.¹⁵⁸ Then Akbar sent Munim Khan at the head of 20,000 soldiers on 13th August 1574 to march upon Bengal and thereby to conclude the campaign successfully without giving the Afghans time to rally. Nowhere the Afghans could make a stand against the advancing Mughals. So the Afghan plan of resistance broke and they were put to flight in confusion. Daud could not withstand the shock and he took to flight to Orissa.¹⁵⁹ Munim Khan entered Tanda, the capital of Bengal on 25th September in 1574 unopposed. Although the Mughals occupied the capital of Bengal but it took them many years to subjugate the whole province from the opposition and disturbances created by the Afghan generals. The Afghan generals and soldiers raised disturbances where ever they went.

After the conquest of Tanda, Daud flight to Orissa, Munim Khan devoted his attention to the settlement of the affairs of Bengal, so he sent detachments to Satagaon, Ghoraghat, Bakala, Sonargaon and Muhammadabad which crushed the

¹⁵⁵ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 313.

¹⁵⁶ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.160.

¹⁵⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, op.cit., pp. 318-319.

¹⁵⁸ *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, op.cit., pp.417-418.

¹⁵⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 323; *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.120-121.

Afghan opposition and established imperial authority but Daud Karrani remained still active in Orissa. So, Munim Khan sent Raja Todar Mal with some other amirs towards Orissa in pursuit of Daud.¹⁶⁰ Daud remained hovering backwards and forwards between Cuttack and Jalesore for sometimes. The Mughals proceeded towards Orissa and made Burdwan their advanced base, whereas the supreme Mughal commander remained at Tanda . The Imperial army on its way to Orissa encamped at the port of Satagaon and took measures to soothe the distracted inhabitants there. At this stage news reached to the Mughal camp that Srihari (Daud's rational soul) parted with his master and took refuge in wilderness of Katwa. Meanwhile, Raja Todar Mal joined the advance army of the Mughals and urged them to speed up their march in order to over throw Daud from Orissa. The Mughal army under Todar Mal advanced from Burdwan to Garh-Mandaran¹⁶¹ in the Hughli district. Here Raja Todar Mal was informed that Daud is at Din-Kasari and increasing his forces daily.¹⁶² So Todar Mal wrote a letter to Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan with full report, on receiving it, Munim Khan sent Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas with reinforcement for the Raja Todar Mal. By their arrival, the huge Mughal army marched from Mandaran to Gowalpara, twenty miles away from Din-Kasari, when Daud got information about this, he stood on his ground at Dharpur¹⁶³ to fight against the imperial army. In Gowalpara the emissaries brought information that Junaid (Son of Daud's uncle) a man of high repute among the Afghans for bravery and resolution, who had formerly come into the service of the emperor Akbar, had fled from Agra to Gujarat afterwards came to Bengal and now at Din-Kasari and seeking to form a junction with Daud Karrani. So Todar Mal immediately sent Abu-l-Qasim Namaki and Nazar Bahadur to attack Junaid but they were defeated by Junaid and bringing disgrace upon themselves.¹⁶⁴ Raja Todar Mal himself marched against Junaid, but before he could arrive, Junaid had fled into jungles. Therefore, Todar Mal stopped at Midnapur,¹⁶⁵ where the able Mughal general Muhammad Quli Khan Birlas died due to illness, which created a great cause of weakness in the imperial forces.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 323.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.324; Garh-Mandaran is situated in the Hughli district between Burdwan and Midnapore. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., H. Blochmann, Bib.Ind, Delhi, 1927,Reprint,(1989),Vol.-I, p. 406

¹⁶² *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 324.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.324.

¹⁶⁴ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.324.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.324

¹⁶⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. Nawal Kishor , op.cit., Vol.I, p.160; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.324.

In concurrence with the remaining amirs, Todar Mal returned from Midnapur to Mandaran, the sudden death of Muhammad Quli Birlas caused great disorder in the Mughal camp. The soldiers refused to continue the forest campaign, Todar Mal's attempts to pacify the troops failed. So, he immediately informed Munim Khan with the state of affairs and requested him to send money to satisfy the troops. Munim Khan sent Shaham Khan Jalair, Lashkar Khan, Mir Bakshi, Khwaja Abdullah and Kujak Khwaja to reinforce Raja Todar Mal.¹⁶⁷ After this, they marched from Mandaran to Jitura. Where, they got intelligence that Daud with his forces had gone into the fort of Katak Banaras and were engaged in preparations for war.¹⁶⁸ So Todar Mal sent swift messenger to inform Munim Khan of the existing affairs, Munim Khan then left Tanda to march against Daud and formed a junction with Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army, to face the imperial Mughal army in Garh-Haripur. He also took special care to strengthen the approaches and barricaded the regular road from Midnapore southwards. The difficulties of the march disheartened the imperial troops and they clamored for some sort of agreement with the Afghans but Munim Khan summoned a council of war and decided to fight against Daud.¹⁶⁹ So with the help of the local people, an obscure path was discovered.

Hence Daud's plans to fortifying the regular roads were failed. Being disheartened, Daud turned back and resolved upon fighting. So he sent his family to Cuttack and lightened his army then advanced from his camp to face the Mughals. The two armies came face to face on the plain of Tukaroi,¹⁷⁰ (six miles west from Jaleswar on the bank of river Subarnarekha) on the 3rd March 1575.¹⁷¹

The Battle of Tukaroi:

After proper arrangement the Afghans under Daud advanced rapidly to fight against Mughals, on the other hand, Munim Khan ordered his firemen to fire upon the advance of Afghan army. The sound of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack. Although Gujar Khan, the Afghan general came

¹⁶⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 324.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁷⁰ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1887, Vol.III, pp.122-123; Blochmann has identified it with the village of Mughulmari, a place situated on the road from Medinipur to Jaleswar. The village of Tookaroe is two miles from the left bank of Subarnarekha River. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., H. Blochmann, op. cit., Vol-I, p. 407.

¹⁷¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit. Vol.-I, p. 364.

up boldly with his division in excellent order and drove back Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan's advanced force upon the Altamash¹⁷² but Khan-i-Alam, who was commanding the advance guard held his ground and was killed. The Altamash division was next defeated and driven back upon the centre, which in its turn was in great difficulty. Munim Khan did all in his power but could not restrain his men. At this time, Gujar Khan attacked and wounded Munim Khan and Munim Khan's horse took flight.¹⁷³ The Afghan pursued Munim Khan for a mile. In the meantime, Qiya Khan Gang attacked the Afghan and showered arrows upon them. The Afghans were exhausted by this long ride and could not move of this conjecture, Munim Khan fortunately got his horse under control and rallying his men led them back to the battle field, meanwhile an arrow struck Gujar Khan who fell to the ground and died. Hence the Afghans turned their back and fled but many of them were killed during flight. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victorious Mughal army.¹⁷⁴ Munim Khan laided his camp on the battle field and remained there few days, to have his wounds tended and sent a report of the victory to emperor Akbar but Lashkar Khan Mir-Bakshi died of his wounds before the army moved. This battle was one of the most important battles fought by Akbar's general because it crushed the Afghan and decided the Mughal possession of Bengal and upper Orissa.

After the death of Gujar Khan, Afghan army defeated and Daud fled to Katak (Cuttack). Though Munim Khan had received wound¹⁷⁵ but Todar Mal, Shaham Khan Jalair, Qiya Khan along with other Mughal amirs pursued Daud and halt at Kalkal-ghati¹⁷⁶ where they got intelligence that Daud and Afghans with their wives and children were shut up on the fort of Katak Banaras (Barbati fort).¹⁷⁷ So Raja Todar Mal informed the state of affairs to Munim Khan and call for support to complete their invasion against Afghan.¹⁷⁸ Munim Khan moved the whole army to Katak and

¹⁷² *Altamash* is a Turkic word meaning 'sixty', Qiya Khan Gang, Abdullaha Khan, Alam Shahi were in charge of Altamash. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.325.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.325.

¹⁷⁵ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.126-127.

¹⁷⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.326; Abul Fazl calls the place 'Bhadrak', Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit., Vol-I, p. 407.

¹⁷⁷ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.326.

¹⁷⁸ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 128-129.

put his camp on the bank of the river Mahanadi, one mile from Katak and prepared to siege the fort in which Daud and other Afghan has fortified.¹⁷⁹

Daud realizing his critical situation sought for peace and sent a messenger to Munim Khan with a message that “it was not the course of greatness, to try extirpate a body of Musalmans and that this slave (i.e., he himself) like all the other slaves wished to serve the threshold, which was the next of the angels. It was his prayer that a corner of the extensive territory of Bengal, which would be sufficient for their support might be fixed, so that contenting themselves with it, they would not turn their heads from the lines of service”.¹⁸⁰ After receiving the message sympathy was created in the heart of Munim Khan and he after considerable discussion with his amirs determined to accept the proposal upon two conditions, firstly, Daud should come in person and render homage, and secondly, he should confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths.¹⁸¹ Raja Todar Mal was not in favour of this peace treaty with Daud.¹⁸²

On very next day (12 April 1575) a grand court was organized with all the nobles and troops in front of the tents of Munim Khan.¹⁸³ Daud came out of the Barabati fort along with his Afghan nobles and officers, and proceeded towards the tent of Munim Khan. Munim Khan with great courtesy and respect rose up and walked half-way down the tent to meet him. When they met, Daud loosened his sword from the belt and handed over to Khan-i-Khana.¹⁸⁴ Then Munim Khan seated him by his side and made some kind of fatherly inquiries.

After that the term of peace was discussed. Daud Karrani promised to be loyal to the Mughal Padshah Akbar and made his homage of service by sending his nephew Shaikh Muhammad (son of Bayazid) and some best elephants to the court of Akbar.¹⁸⁵ Then Munim Khan gave a sword with a jeweled belt of great value to Daud, accepted him as a loyal subject of imperial throne and requested his majesty to be granted him

¹⁷⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 326.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.326.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.327.

¹⁸² *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, p.131.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.130.

¹⁸⁴ According to Abul Fazl 'When Daud met with Khan-i-Khana, he loosened his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldering and had made himself over to the sublime court and do whatever the pillars of the empire thought it right for him to do. The Khan-i-Khana Munim Khan, made it over to his servants. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, pp.130-131.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

the country of Orissa as tankhwah. Akbar greatly delighted with the conquest of Bengal and Orissa and sent splendid robes with jeweled swords and a horse with a golden saddle to Munim Khan and confirmed all the terms, he had made with Duad.¹⁸⁶ Now Munim Khan started his return journey and appointed Murad Khan and Nazar Bahadur as the governor of Jaleswar and Bhadrak respectively.¹⁸⁷

While Munim Khan was busy with Daud, the sons of Jalaluddin Sur, in consent with the local zamindars of Ghoraghat had attacked and defeated Majnun Khan (the Mughal in charge) but Munim Khan soon recovered Ghora-Ghat from Afghan and captured Gaur¹⁸⁸ (the ancient capital of Bengal) the Afghan insurgents scattered and hide themselves in the jungles. Munim Khan made Gaur the Mughal capital of Bengal and shifted imperial authority and administration to Gaur.¹⁸⁹ But the air of Gaur was extremely unhealthy, so, many Mughal officers fell in sickness and died¹⁹⁰, even Munim Khan himself affected and died in the month of Safar in 983 A.H.¹⁹¹

After the death of Munim Khan, Akbar appointed Hussain Quli Khan entitled as Khan-i-Jahan as governor of Bengal.¹⁹²

The Second Phase of the Mughal-Afghan Hostilities (1575-1593 A.D)

Although Daud Karrani had surrendered to Munim Khan and signed the humiliating treaty at Cuttack but he was looking for suitable opportunity to regain his independence which he got after the death of Munim Khan in 1575 A.D. Thus the second phase of the Mughal-Afghan hostilities began in Orissa and affected both Bihar and Bengal provinces.

After the death of Munim Khan, Akbar appointed Hussain Quli Khan Khan-i-Jahan as the governor of Bengal. The Mughal generals posted at different places in Bengal and Bihar had accumulated huge amount of wealth from illegal means. So when the new Mughal civil officers attempts to check illegal gains of the old officers,

¹⁸⁶ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 327.

¹⁸⁷ As Munim Khan left Thanedars in Bhadrak and Jaleswar, Duad must have been restricted to Cuttack proper. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit., Vol-I, p.404.

¹⁸⁸ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, p. 131; *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.327.

¹⁸⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.330.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.331; Munim Khan died of fever at Gaur. Cf., *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit., Vol.-I, p. 334.

¹⁹² Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan was the governor of Punjab, Akbar recalled him from Punjab and sent to Bengal. Cf, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.331.

they broke out into rebellion in Bihar and Bengal, it provided encouragement to the dispossessed Afghans to raise their head again.¹⁹³

Daud also utilized this opportunity and broke out his oath and rose in rebellion in Orissa. He fell upon Nazar Bahadur (Akbar's Tahanedar of Bhadrak) and treacherously killed him but Murad Khan (the Mughal officer of Jaleswar) wisely retreated to Tanda.¹⁹⁴ Thus Daud occupied Bhadrak and Jaleswar and also re-occupied his lost territories in Bengal. So the surviving leaderless Mughal officers and soldiers left Gaur in fear and then abandoned Bengal altogether retreating to Bhagalpur in route to Delhi.¹⁹⁵ While Akbar got intelligence of Daud Karrani's rebellion, he immediately sent a letter to Hussain Quli Khan who was in his way to Bihar by Subhan Quli Turk¹⁹⁶ directing him to take with him all the amirs and Jagirdars who had abandoned Bengal and to march against Daud Karrani. Subhan Quli travelled rapidly and complete nearly thousand mile journey in only twenty two days and delivered the royal farman to Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan, who immediately advanced towards Bengal and met by the Amirs of Bengal at Bhagalpur.¹⁹⁷

The Imperial army under the command of Khan-i-Jahan easily recovered the Teligrahi pass (which was blocked by Daud's men) and captured Grahi and reached to the vicinity of Tanda.¹⁹⁸ Daud had never imagined that, the imperial army would come so soon, hence he fell back on Raj Mahal.¹⁹⁹ Which was well defended on one side by a river and other by a mountain. Khan-i-Jahan marched against Daud but faced strong opposition at Rajmahal. The Imperialists suffered much from the constant sallies of the Afghans, even Khawaja Abdullah Naqshbandi (a Mughal officer) lost his life in the encounter.²⁰⁰ So Emperor Akbar sent an order to Muzaffar Khan (the governor of Bihar) to assemble his troops and march for the assistance of Khan-i-Jahan.²⁰¹ Akbar also sent five lakhs of rupees by Dak-Chauki for defraying the expenses of the army and boats laden with grain were dispatched from Agra to Bengal

¹⁹³ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, p.160.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.161; *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit., Vol.-I, p. 404.

¹⁹⁵ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, pp.161-162.

¹⁹⁶ While the emperor was at Ajmer, the news of Daud's rebellion and abandoned of Mughal officers from Orissa and Bengal reached. The emperor immediately sent Subhan Quli Turk to Hussain Quli Khan. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 332.

¹⁹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op. cit., Vol-I, p. 350.

¹⁹⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.333.

¹⁹⁹ Nizamuddin Ahmad called it as *Mouza Ak Mahal* afterwards. Cf. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.333.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.333.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*,

for the use of army.²⁰² Muzaffar Khan joined to Khan-i-Jahan with his 5,000 horses on 10th July 1576 A.D only after then Khan-i-Jahan defeated the Afghans in an immediate engagement. Daud Karrani was captured and beheaded by the order of Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan but Junaid Karrani was received wound and left the battle ground with the Afghan army.²⁰³ So, a huge amount of spoils and many elephants were fell in the hands of the Mughals, which were sent to emperor Akbar.²⁰⁴

Although in the battle of Rajmahal Daud Karrani was beheaded and Orissa was nominally annexed to the Mughal province of Bengal but due to apathy of the Mughal generals, the Mughal area was not secure in Orissa and the Afghans were still active in this province.

After the return of Raja Todar Mal to Delhi, the Afghans again became rebellious in Bengal. Although Khan-i-Jahan Hussain Quli Khan (the governor of Bengal) defeated them in the battle field of Sapta grama but they fled away to Orissa, which became their safe refuge. Thus Khan-i-Jahan was engage more than two year to suppress the rebellion and finally died in 1578 A.D. Then Muzaffar Khan Turbati was appointed as governor of Bengal in April 1579²⁰⁵ and Masoom Khan (Afghan) was appointed as administrator of Orissa.²⁰⁶ In the meantime some Afghans (who were helping in the administration) had been granted Jagirs in Orissa by the Mughal government.

When Muzaffar Khan asked the Afghan Jagirdars for the accounts of income and expenditures and even not left some senior Jagirdar like Baba Khan Kakshal, Masoom Khan and Khaldi Khan (the Jagirdar of Jaleswar). So these Jagirdars became rebellious and Masoom Khan became their leader.²⁰⁷ The officers of Bengal, Bihar also joined in this rebellion. Muzaffar Khan being indulged in suppressing this rebellion was finally killed in the hands of the rebels in 1580 A.D.²⁰⁸

When the news of Muzaffar khan's death and re-occupation of the whole of Bengal,Bihar and Orissa by the rebels reached to Akbar. He sent Raja Todar Mal,

²⁰² *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.334.

²⁰³ Ibid.,

²⁰⁴ Ibid.,

²⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 341.

²⁰⁶ Mishra, K., *Utkal Itihasa*, 2nd edn, Cuttack, 1933, p. 195.

²⁰⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit., Vol-I, pp. 374-375; See also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., pp. 345.

²⁰⁸ *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, op. cit., pp.345-346.

Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Sheikh Farid Bukhari, along with other amirs from Fatehpur Sikri to repress it.²⁰⁹ Todar Mal defeated the rebels and persuaded them, the Afghans fled towards Orissa and took shelter in its forest. Raja Todar Mal also marched to Orissa and reached at Khurda, where Ram Chandra Deva was ruling with the title of Gajapati and introduced his own Anka era.²¹⁰ He was also proved himself as the right successor of the Gajapati throne by restoration of the image of Jagannath in the temple of Puri, which had been destroyed by the Afghan general Kala Pahar.

Raja Todar Mal might have completed the conquest of Orissa after defeating Ram Chandra Deva but he recognized him as a semi-independent king and the true successor of the Gajapati kings of Orissa by this act of liberation,²¹¹ he created a good impression of the Mughals in the minds of Oriya people and superintended the introduction of his land revenue settlement or the Taksim Jamma and Tankhwa Raqmi.²¹²

Thus after regularizing the administration of Orissa, Raja Todar Mal returned to Delhi in 1582 A.D. After his return the Afghans once again raised their banner of rebellion, this time under the leadership of Qutlu Khan Lohani (an officer of Daud), who occupied Puri after defeating Ram Chandra Dev at Khurda.²¹³ Then marched towards Bengal and a part of Bengal came under his authority, Masoom Khan Kabuli (An Afghan general of the East Bengal) also entered into a league with Qutlu Lohani to defend Afghan dominions against the Mughals.

When the news of Qutlu's rebellion reached at Imperial court Akbar sent Khan-i-Azam as the governor of Bengal to curb the Afghans in the eastern provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Khan-i-Azam after reaching Bengal made strenuous preparation to the Afghan menace and recover the lost area of Bengal from the rebels. The Mughal army under Khan-i-Azam attacked the Afghan in 1583 A.D. at Garhi and Killed Kalapahar (a skilled Afghan general) then Afghan army fled to other part of Bengal in search of safety. Then Khan-i-Azam set about finding a remedy for the

²⁰⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbar*, op. cit., p.346.

²¹⁰ Rajguru,S, '*The Chalukya Family of Orissa*', *O.H.R.J.* VII,(April),1957, 11-50; '*An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*', op. cit., p. 85; See also Asiatic Researchs, XV, (1924), p. 42ff.

²¹¹ Todar Mal went to Puri and at the requests of the Brahmans, nobles and monks, conferred on Ram Chandra Dev, the kingdom of Orissa. Cf. *Madla Panji*, op.cit., p. 62, But date which has given in *Madla Panji* was not correct, Sterling has corrected it as 1580 A.D. Cf. '*An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*', op. cit., p. 85.

²¹² *Asiatic Researcher*, Vol.-XV,(1924) p. 43.

²¹³ Mishra. K.,*Utkal Itihaas*, op. cit., p. 194.

crafty Qutlu Lohani. According to Abul Fazl "Qutlu brought forward a proposal of peace and sent eloquent and skillful persons to court and made use of blandishment. The answer (from the Mughals) came that if his work corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant and restore Orissa to him".²¹⁴ Thus the Afghan submitted to Khan-i-Azam and joined the Mughals against Masoom Khan.

In the mean time Khan-i-Azam was desirous of returning home and also got order of his transfer, so, he left the matter of negotiation to his subordinate officer Wazir Khan and left for Hajipur (his own Jagir). Akbar ordered Shahbaz Khan to proceed to Bengal to crush Masoom Khan's rebellion. In this changed situation, Qutlu again turned his sides that, he put forward unfitting conditions with regard to the proposed peace, which the Mughal could not accept. Therefore, the Imperial army marched from Sherpur to Burdwan crossed the river Damodar and stood facing Qutlu's army towards the end of June 1583 A.D.

Shahbaz Khan determined to end Masoom Khan's raising first, So he wrote to his officers from Tanda that as Qutlu was not strong enough to face the Imperial army in the field. Some of them had better to join the army which was opposing Masoom Khan, accordingly Wazir Khan and a number of officers remained in Orissa and Sadiq Khan with other came to Bengal.²¹⁵ Then Shabaz Khan marched against Masoom Khan who had taken refuge in Bhatti and had joined by Isa Khan. Here the Imperial army faced disastrous failure due to mutual jealous of the imperial commander, which prevented them to take concerted action on their part in overcoming the Afghan successfully, so the Afghan in the east-Bengal became more aggressive and raided the Mughal territories up to Malda city.²¹⁶

On the other hand Wazir Khan along with Sadiq Khan defeated the Afghan army in Orissa and they were obliged to seek refuge in the forests of Dharampur, with the arrival of Shahbaz Khan in Orissa both the Isa Khan and Masoom Khan submitted, many of the Afghans also left Qutlu Khan and joined the royal forces. Then Qutlu left no other alternative except for submission. He offered submission and made huge presents to the Mughal officers. So, Qutlu was left to enjoy Orissa in

²¹⁴ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, pp.402,406, See also *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op. cit., p. 355.

²¹⁵ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, p.416.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.438-440.

peace²¹⁷ and in turn as a mark of gratitude, he sent his nephew with sixty noted elephants and other presents to court of Akbar, which reached on 11 June 1584. Now Wazir Khan ordered back to Tanda and Sadiq Khan to proceed to Patna.²¹⁸ Thus Qutlu was left to rule Orissa independently on condition that, he acknowledged himself as tributary of the Mughal emperor.²¹⁹

Raja Man Singh's Orissa Conquest:

Akbar was not satisfied by the treaty concluded with the Afghans. Therefore, he ordered Shahbaz Khan to return to the Mughal court in 1587 A.D. Accordingly, Shahbaz left the charge of the government of Bengal and Orissa and returned to the Mughal court. This left Qutlu Lohani (former officer of Daud Karrani) to enjoy Orissa in peace. He now broke his promises and proclaimed his independence and became the champion of the cause of Afghans. He also occupied some areas of the Mughal territory and drove away the Mughal faujdars from their posts. When the news of the fresh rising of the Afghans was brought to the notice of Akbar, he decided to send Raja Man Singh (son of Bhagwan Das) to settle the Afghan problems in Orissa once for all. After settling the matter in the province of Bihar, Raja Man Singh thought of invading Orissa by way of Jharkhand. As his army was exhausted, Man Singh invited the cooperation of Sayeed Khan (the governor of Bengal) but due to rainy season Sayeed Khan postponed his assistance and sent order to Pahar Khan and Rai Patra Das to reinforce Man Singh. As soon as the Mughal army under Man Singh reached Yaman-Katwa, the letter from Rai Patra Das of Tanda reached to Man Singh under instruction from the governor of Bengal that the road through Jharkhand was full of jungles and have scarcity of drinking water in that route, hence his army should better march through Burdwan, then Raja Man Singh changed his route and marched by the way of Burdwan and halted at Jahanabad.²²⁰ Later on Pahar Khan and Rai Patra Das joined the Mughal army against Qutlu Khan Lohani.

Qutlu Khan Lohani was also an able Afghan general and took necessary action to check the advance of the Mughal army into the Afghan territory. So he raised his banner in Orissa and boldly marched to Dharpur to fight a battle with the Mughal

²¹⁷ Ibid., p. 435.

²¹⁸ Ibid., pp.435-436.

²¹⁹ *District Gazetteers*, Cuttack, 1933, p. 32.

²²⁰ Jahanabad is now named as Aram-Bagh in the Midnapore district of West Bengal, at a distance of 9 miles from Jaleswar in Orissa.

army. He also sent his general Bahadur Kuruh with a big force to Raipur in the Bankura district.²²¹

When Man Singh got the intelligence of march of Afghan army from the side of Raipur, he immediately dispatched a detachment of the Mughal army under his son Jagat Singh²²² to meet the advancing forces of Afghans but Jagat Singh neglected his duty and waste his time in pleasure, on the other hand Afghan army of Bahadur Kuruh was reinforced by Omar Khan (nephew of Qutlu) and other prominent Afghan officers like Miru, Khwaja Isa and Jalal Khan, the reinforced army of Bahadur Kuruh made a sudden attack on the Mughal army of Jagat Singh at Raipur. The Imperial army faced great loss and Jagat Singh was fled and saved by Raja Vir Hambir who took him to Vishnupur in the Bankura district.²²³

The news of the Mughal reverse at the hands of the Afghan army brought discouragement in the Mughal camp, therefore some officer suggested to go back to Salimabad but Man Singh rejected such proposal and determined to proceed against the Afghans, fortunately for the royal cause that in the meantime Qutlu Lohani died, (due to illness) and his young son Nasir was placed on the throne, to act as king and leader.²²⁴ After the death of Qutlu a nervous situation created in the Afghans camp because Nasir had neither commanding personality nor able generalship, to guide the Afghans to bring success against the Mughals. So, on the advice of Khwaja Isa Khan (the Wakil of Qutlu Lohani) the Afghans sued for peace. As the rainy season was not yet terminated and Raja Man Singh also found himself unable to undertake any active measure in this situation, so, he readily responded to their proposal.²²⁵ But the real cause behind the acceptance of the peace proposal of the Afghans by Man Singh was many. Firstly, the tired army from Bihar, (though partly reinforced by the Mughal soldiers of Bengal) was not sufficiently strong to curb the pride of the Afghans. Secondly, the Bengal soldier's who were hard hit by their previous experience in Orissa were eager to patch off the matter. Thirdly, Man Singh was reminded of the tragic fate of his predecessors. Hence, he did not like to carry the matter too far with the Afghans without being prepared with invigorated and refreshed soldiers. Lastly,

²²¹ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, pp.580.

²²² Abdul Qadir Badaoni mentions Sakat Singh as the name of the son of Man Singh. Cf. *Muntakhab 'u-Tawarikh*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.385.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p.385.

²²⁴ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.III, p.580.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.580-581.

his incomplete task at Bihar diverted his attention for return to that province. All these consideration made Man Singh eager to agree to the treaty of negotiation.²²⁶ The terms of treaty of 1590 was comprised the following.

- I- The Emperor's name should be used in the Khutba and on the coins.
- II- The Afghan rulers of Orissa should be obedient and loyal vassal of the Emperor.
- III- Jagannath, the celebrated place of worship along with its surrounding districts would be ceded to the royal exchequer or crown land²²⁷.
- IV- No injury should be done to the loyal Zamindars.

Accordingly, Nasir attended by Isa Khan met Man Singh and presented him with 150 elephants and many other costly articles, which were offered as tribute.²²⁸ Man Singh gladly accepted these terms and young Nasir was treated with every mark of respect and was permitted to return to Orissa and ruled it as loyal vassal king of the Mughal emperor. Having settled the affairs of the Afghan and great victory in Orissa²²⁹ Man Singh returned to Bihar and out of the 150 elephants presented him by Nasir, 120 elephants were sent to the Emperor Akbar by Man Singh.²³⁰

Raja Man Singh was a Shrewd Mughal politician that he not only understood the position of the Afghans in a predominantly Hindu territory of Orissa but also the sentiment of the Oriyas to the worship of Lord Jagannath, So in order to win the goodwill of the Hindus and alienate the Afghans from Hindu Sympathy, he laid much more emphasis on the point in the peace treaty that land Jagannath should not be disturbed and no harm should be done to the royal zamindars. This was actually a stroke of diplomacy of Raja Man Singh which aimed at conciliating the Hindu sentiment and create a congenial atmosphere for posing the Mughals as the saviour of Hindu religion against the brutal aggression of the Afghans and there by preparing the ground for the crushing of the Afghans.²³¹

The treaty of 1590 was neither favorable to the Afghans nor to the king of Orissa (Raja Ramchandra Deva). So Raja Ram Chandra Deva was highly displeased

²²⁶ 'Proceedings of Indian History Congress', 1950, p. 244.

²²⁷ Akbarnama, op. cit., Vol..III, p.581.

²²⁸ Ibid.,

²²⁹ Tabaqat-i-Akbari, op.cit., p.387.

²³⁰ Muntakhab 'u-Tawarikh, Vol-II, op.cit., p.386; 'One hundred and twenty elephants, taken by Raja Man Singh in Orissa, now arrived at court and were presented to the emperor in the 38th reign year' Cf. Tabaqat-i-Akbari, op.cit., p.648.

²³¹ 'Proceeding of Indian History Congress', (1950), pp. 244-245.

with the Mughal way of deciding peace because in this treaty, there was neither any reference to the position of the king of Orissa nor he was recognized as the custodian of the temple of Jagannath rather the charge of the temple with its surrounding areas was brought under the direct administration of the Mughal emperor as crown land.²³²

The same treaty also brought an unexpected change in the political situation of Orissa that, Telinga Ramachandra Deva and Chhakadi Bhramber, (the two sons of the late king Mukunda Deva), who were disappointed in their effort to recover their old throne, now got encouraged and decided to place their legitimate claim to the throne of Orissa before Raja Man Singh for favour of necessary action.²³³ Madla Panji describes that 'In the 12th Anka (10th year) of Ramachandra Deva, a son of Telinga Mukunda Deva complained to the Padshah of Delhi. The Padshah sent Raja Man Singh to Orissa saying, "He who is the leader (naika) of Orissa should be made the Raja of Orissa."²³⁴

The Afghan opposition to the Mughal rule did not come to an end with the death of Qutlu nor with the treaty of 1590. The peace was maintained by the Afghans so long as Khwajah Isa (the wise regent of the young king Nasir Khan) was alive, soon after his death, Nasir Khan with his followers broke the treaty, captured the temple of Jagannath from the Mughal custodian and seized the crown land of Puri. He also attacked Vir Hamir Singh of Bishnupur. who had proved himself loyal to the Mughal emperor and plundered the estates of those, who had refused to join the Afghans in their rebellion.

The Afghan risings were looked with grave concern at the imperial court. Raja Man Singh was again ordered to proceed to the affected area to suppress the Afghan rebellion. Man Singh left Bihar for Orissa on 3rd November 1591 A.D. This time Man Singh divided his army into two divisions to harass the enemy from both directions. One division under his command marched by water route down the Ganges, which was also joined by the local zamindars. The other division proceeded by the land route through Jharkhand under the commandership of Yusuf Khan Chak (the former king of Kashmir). Later Sayeed Khan (the subedar of Bengal) also joined it with his contingent and 6500 horsemen. The Mughal army occupied all the country up to Jaleswar. The crafty Afghan again sought to make peace but experience had shown what their professions were worth, so a deaf ear was turned to their proposition by

²³² Ibid., p.245.

²³³ Ibid.,

²³⁴ *Madla Panji*, op.cit., p. 63; See also, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIII-I, (1927), p.24

Man Singh, though some of the amirs of Bengal were in favour of an amicable settlement. Due to this difference in the tactics of war to be adopted, the Bengal officers instead of cooperating with the plan of Man Singh sat down at long distance while the Afghans had entrenched their position. However, Man Singh further advanced his army to crush the Afghans.

The Afghans in alarm assembled all their forces and retreated across the Suvarnarekha river and waited there for approach of the imperial army. The contending armies continued for sometime encamped opposite of each other but daily skirmishes took place between their light troops. At length, the Afghans crossed the river and placing too much dependence upon their elephants rushed with violence upon the imperial army. So, a severe battle was fought. At the beginning of the fight, the Mughal rank was not properly co-ordinated, hence the Afghan charge seemed to bring discomfiture in the imperial force. The situation was saved however due to the march of soldiers from the rear at the right moment. The Afghans who were mainly depended on the elephants were subjected to great inconvenience at the incessant fire poured on them by the Imperial artillery. The superior artillery and archery of the Mughals brought disaster in the Afghans, so a large number of Afghans died and some fled into the interior of Orissa. The victorious army pursued the enemy and took possession of the city of Jaleswar, many local Hindu zamindars also paid reverence and submission to the Mughal general, while Man Singh was engaged with the Afghans, Sayeed Khan (the Deputy Governor of Bengal) tired of campaign and retired to Bengal withdrawing all his forces.²³⁵ But Man Singh chased the Afghans with his army.

Ramchandra Deva (the king of Khurda) was ever suspicious of Raja Man Singh. The appeal of Telinga Ramachandra Deva to Man Singh for placing him on the throne of Orissa confirmed his suspicion to a greater extent. He apprehended that in case the Mughals would be victorious in the battle, he would be deprived of his 'gaddi(throne). In view of this, he decided to try his lot with the Afghan and fortified the fort of Sarangarh (near Barang railway station), which appears to have been under his control.²³⁶

When the victorious Raja Man Singh reached Bhadrak, it was reported to him that the Pathans had assembled in the fort of Sarangarh.²³⁷ Man Singh posted one

²³⁵ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.-III, p.611.

²³⁶ *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, (1950), p. 246.

²³⁷ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, pp.615-616.

division at Bhadrak and chased the Afghan towards Cuttack. Soon Cuttack (the capital of the Afghan) fell into the hand of the Mughal. The Afghans as their last resort took shelter in Sarangarh fort of Ramachandra Deva. During this time, the Mughal army also occupied the fort of 'Aul' from Alwa Khan (the commander of Qultu and incharge of Aul fort). Near Kalkalghati²³⁸ the Tila Raja (who is distinguished land owner in the past) joined the victorious army. This Tila Raja was probably Telinga Ramachandra Dev (the son of late king Mukunda Deva).

As it appears, the fort of Sarangarh was well fortified and ably defended by the Hindu Raja. It was situated about five miles south-west of the town of Cuttack. Being situated on a bank of a river, the east was defended by natural boundary. So it occupied a strategic position and was regarded as a second line of defense of the Raja of Orissa after the fall of Cuttack. During this time, when it was the primary duty of Man Singh to demolish the fort of Sarangarh and occupy all other forts which were still under the sway of the enemy, he proposed to go on a pilgrimage to Puri. It was Man Singh's diplomatic move that while proceeding to Puri, he had two things in his mind.

Firstly, he saw the capitulation of the fort of Sarangarh was a very difficult task, even though with hard fight he could capture the fort, it would not give him final victory over the Raja, because a large number of forts to the south-west of Sarangarh was in the enemy's possession, where he could take shelter. So, Man Singh thought, if he could launch an attack on the homeland (the capital of Khurda) the Raja would be deluded and forced to submit.

Secondly, as the attack would be made at the capital, the reinforcement would not be forthcoming from Khurda to the fort of Sarangarh, believing to achieve two things at one stroke. He was going to pilgrimage to Puri.²³⁹

The advance of the Mughal army in the neighborhood of Khurda after crossing Pipli infused fear into the heart of the Raja Ramchandra Deva. He clearly saw the diplomacy of Raja Man Singh and his intention to advance towards his capital. That is why, he wished to come to terms with him. So Raja Ramchandra sent his son Birbar

²³⁸ *Kalkala* is 15 miles north of Cuttack, lying on the direct road from lower Keonjhar to Cuttack. Cf. *District Gazetteer Cuttack*, 1933, p. 245.

²³⁹ Abul Fazl has narrated the detailed events which Raja Man Singh followed after the capture of Cuttack, That when Raja Man Singh came to Cuttack, he left Yusuf Khan and others to guard it and himself went off to pay his devotion to Jagannath, his idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Ram Chandra and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, p.616.

with plenty of presents in order to win the favour of Man Singh and also expected that such voluntary submission would ensure his position as king of Orissa. Thus the temple of Jagannath with its neighboring places would legally pass into his hands.

But Man Singh did not trust the proposal of Raja Ramchandra Deva because he was unwilling to be generous to a man, who is fighting hand in hand with the Afghans against the Mughals. The attitude of the Man Singh was very much disappointing to the expectation of Raja of Khurda. As no suitable reply was forthcoming from Man Singh to his proposal, the Raja of Orissa changed his mind and made necessary preparations to fight against the Mughal general, other circumstances were too favorable to him for such a decision.²⁴⁰

While Man Singh went towards Puri on pilgrimage, he left Yusuf Khan Chak in charge of Cuttack. The encampment of Man Singh at Pipli in his way to Puri induced the Afghans to re-establish their power in the north part of Orissa. So, the dispersed Afghans attacked Hijli in the command of Fath Khan, Habi Khan, Darya Khan, Sujawal Khan and Mewa Khan and invaded Jaleswar and forced Babu Mankali to give up the place.²⁴¹ Now, the problem for Man Singh raises from two sides that, he was not able to destroy the powers of Ramchandra Deva and Sarangarh was still in the hand of enemy, on the other side, the fresh Afghan rising in Jaleswar created new problem for him. At this stage, Man Singh demanded the personal attendance of the Raja Ram Chandra Deva of Orissa before him but Ramachandra Deva, who had already studied the mind and attitude of Man Singh now decided to wait because the fresh attack of the Afghans on Jaleswar offered him an opportunity to defy the command of the Mughal general.

In this grave situation, Man Singh first sent Pahar Khan with a division of army against the Afghans. The Mughal army under Pahar Khan defeated the Afghans and Jaleswar was re-conquered. The Afghan now surrendered and waited upon Man Singh. The Mughal victory of Jaleswar brought fresh reinforcement to Cuttack and after a hard fight, the fort of Sarangarh was surrendered to the Mughals.²⁴² Even before the fall of Sarangarh, Man Singh had sent a division of the Mughal army under the commandership of Jagat Singh against the Raja of Khurda.

The advancing army of the Mughals towards Khurda, necessitated terrible fight against the enemy at each fort, many forts and cities also fell into the hands of

²⁴⁰ *Proceedings of India History Congress*, (1950), pp. 247f.

²⁴¹ *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, pp. 615-616.

²⁴² *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol-III, pp.615-616.

the Mughals viz- Sahajpal, Kharagarh, Kalupada, longarh (situated near Delang Police Station of the Puri district) and Bhumall, Kahnana (near Jatni Police Station of Puri district). At the approach of the Mughals, the Raja of Khurda shut himself in the well fortified fort of Barunai at Khurda. The fort of Barunai was well protected on one side by the Barunai hill, and on the other by the dense jungle. It was a formidable fort. In spite of the hard fight, the Mughal failed to capture the fort of Barunai. Now Man Singh made vigorous preparation to force the Raja to surrender, but he was in pressure of the Afghans, who were looking for an opportunity to rise their head again. On the other hand, Raja of Khurda had already complained before Emperor Akbar against the uncompromising and aggressive design of Man Singh and assured his loyalty and obedience to the emperor. As a result, Man Singh, now, received censure from Akbar to be liberal towards the Raja of Khurda. So, Man Singh ordered to withdraw the troop which was engaged in besieging the fort of Khurda. Abul Fazl has narrated a detailed of this event in his work Akbarnama.²⁴³ Now, Raja Ramachandra Deva being impressed with the liberal and kind policy of Akbar, met Man Singh in person, which he had refused to do previously.

The decision of Raja Man Singh over the rival claims to the throne of Orissa by Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telanga Ramachandra Deva has been very nicely described in the Madala panji that 'When Man Singh went on a pilgrimage to Puri both Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and Telanga Ramachandra Deva accompanied him. It was a time when the Chandan Yatra was celebrated. The priests of Jagannath asked Man Singh, to whom would they should offer *gaddi-prasad* ²⁴⁴. Man Singh looked towards them and asked them to bring the *gaddi prasad*. In the presence of Goddess Bimala, Man Singh offered *gaddi-prasad* to Ramchandra Deva of Khurda and recognized him as the king of Orissa.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ 'Ram Chand is one of the famous zamindars of Orissa and by the glory of this Majesty's star he became obedient and sent his son to do service. Raja Man Singh summoned him but he objected, Raja from in appreciativeness sent Jagat Singh, Mir Sharif Sarmandi, Mir Qasim Badakshi, Barkhandar, Abul Baqa, Mehmud Beg Shamlu, Shihabuddin Diwana and others to wage war on him. A commotion arose Ram Chand entered the part of Khurda which was the strongest of his fortress. The imperialists took up their quarters the forts Sahajpal, Khargarh, Kalupara, Kahuar, Langarh, Bhunmal and many populated places fell into possession, on hearing of this, His Majesty became angry and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops and apologized. Ram Chand on seeing the graciousness of his Majesty took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah Man Singh and was treated with much respect. Cf. *Akbarnama*, op. cit., Vol.-III, p.631.

²⁴⁴ *Gaddi prasad* was share of offering to the Jagannath of Puri given only to a person who has to claim of the '*gaddi*' or throne. Cf. *Madlapanji*, op.cit., p.64.

²⁴⁵ *Madlapanji*, op.cit., p.64.

According to the term of the treaty, Raja Ramachandra Deva was allowed to retain the principality of Khurda, comprising seventy one forts which had been given to him by Todar Mal. Apart from this, Man Singh also made him the master of the estates of thirty other feudal lords containing 129 Qillas or forts.²⁴⁶ It was settled that, Ramachandra Deva would pay the revenue to the imperial treasury instead of paying to the Afghans. He was also conferred with the title of Maharaja and was promoted to the rank of a commander of 3500 horse.²⁴⁷ All the responsibility of the temple of Jagannath also remained in the hands of Ramachandra Deva.

Though the claim of Telinga Ramachandra Deva as king of Orissa was forfeited, Man Singh wished to gratify him in other way. Because, the man reposing so much confidence in Mughal general was to please otherwise, the Afghans who did not fully suppress would get the better of the situation and utilize the sympathy and cooperation of the discontented Hindu chiefs for their own ends. Again by placing both Hindu chiefs in same estates, the mischief of one Hindu chief would be balanced by the loyalty of other to the emperor in case of future trouble in Orissa.²⁴⁸ considering this, Telinga Ramachandra Deva, (son of Telinga Mukunda Deva) was acknowledged as the Raja of the fort of *Aul* with its dependencies. Whereas Chhakadi Bhramber (another son of Mukunda Deva) was made the hereditary chief of Patia and a large number of Qilajat estates in different parts of the district were also brought under his control.²⁴⁹

Then Man Singh dispatched an army against Manpur fort, which existed between Orissa and Telingana. Perhaps, to check the advance of the sultan of Golconda from the south to Orissa, it was occupied and given to Ramachandra Deva of Khurda.²⁵⁰

After the final conquest of Orissa in 1593, it was annexed to Bengal Suba. It is only after a very small interval, Man Singh ruled over Orissa directly as the Subedar of Bengal for period of five years i.e. 1594 to 1598 A.D., then indirectly from 1598 to 1605 A.D., through his deputy Maha Singh (son of Jagat Singh).

Although, Orissa remained under the Mughal territory up to 1751 A.D. but sometime as a part of Bengal Suba and sometime as a separate Suba. During the time

²⁴⁶ 'An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack', op. cit., p. 86.

²⁴⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p.163.

²⁴⁸ *Proceeding of Indian History Congress*, (1950), p.252.

²⁴⁹ *An Account of Orissa proper or Cuttack*., op. cit., p. 969.

²⁵⁰ *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol-III, p.632.

of Akbar, Orissa was annexed into Bengal Suba with its five sarkar²⁵¹ - Jaleswar, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga dandapat and Rajamuhendry, but Jahangir made it separate Suba in 1606 and appointed Hashim Khan as its Subedar since then, it was ruled by many Mughal Subedar till 1751A.D. After Aurangzeb's reign, it was again came under the jurisdiction of the Bengal Suba and ruled by the governors of Bengal through their deputies. This can be understood better by the tables of Mughal governors of Orissa, which has given in subsequent pages of this chapter.

²⁵¹ In the revenue list of Ain we found the revenue calculation of Sarkars of Orissa along with the Bengal Suba. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.-II, pp.62-64.

LIST OF MUGHAL GOVERNORS OF ORISSA

Table-1.1
AKBAR

Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Period of Governorship	Sources
1.	Raja Man Singh* (Ruled by his deputy) (a) Maha Singh.	1594-1605	Ain-I, p. 223; Akbarnama, III, p. 650

* After the conquest of Orissa by Raja Man Singh it was attached with the Subah of Bengal. Raja Man Singh ruled it directly as Subehdar of Bengal upto 1598 then by his deputy Maha Singh. Cf. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ed. Maulavi Ashraf Ali, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1891, p.150

Table-1.2
JAHANGIR

Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Period of Governorship	Sources
1.	Qutbuddin Khan Kokah (Saikh Khuban)	1606-1607	Tuzuk, p. 37.
2.	Hashim Khan*	1607-1611	Tuzuk, p. 60; B.G, p. 11(b)
3.	Raja Kalyan	1611-1617	Tuzuk, p. 98
4.	Mukarram Khan	1617-1620	Tuzuk, pp. 214-215
5.	Hasan Ali Khan Turkman	1620-1621	Tuzuk, p.308.
6.	Ahmad Beg Khan*	1621-1622	Tuzuk, p. 332.
7.	Asaf Khan	1622-1623	Tuzuk, p. 361
8.	Ahmad Beg Khan	1624-1627	B.G, p. 291(b)
9.	Baqr Khan Najm Sani	1627-1628	Qazwini, Badshah Nama, p. 131(b)

* During the reign of Jahangir in 1607 Orissa became a Separate Subah and Hashim Khan son of Qasim Khan was appointed as its Subehdar. Cf. *Tuzuk*, p.60.

* During the time of Shahjahan's coming to Orissa as rebellious prince Ahmad Beg fled to his uncle Ibrahim Fath Jung in Akbarnagar. So prince Shahjahan made Shah Quli Khan the governor of Orissa. Cf. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.367

Table-1.3
SHAHJAHAN

Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Period of Governorship	Sources
1.	Baqr Khan Najm Sani	1628-1632	Lahori, I, p. 125
2.	Mutaqad Khan	1632-1640.	Lahori, I, p. 431
3.	Shah Nawaz Khan	1640-1642	Lahori, II, pp.182-183
4.	Prince Muhammad Shuja (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Md. Zaman Tehrani (b) Samsam-ud-daulah (c) Rashid Khan (d) Tarbiyat Khan	March 1642-1657	Lahori, II, p. 283; Futuhat-i-Alamgiri, trs., p.4. Maasir-ul-Umara, ed. Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Vol.I, p.494

Table-1.4
AURANGZEB

Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Period of Governorship	Sources
1.	Ihtisham Khan	1658-1660	Muraqat-i-Hasan, pp.45-49.
2.	Khan-i-Dauran	1660-1667	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 62
3.	Tarbiyat Khan Barlas	1667-1669	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 63
4.	Safi Khan	Oct. 1669	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 90
5.	Said Khan	1670-1675	Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.I, op.cit., p. 497.
6.	Rashid Khan	March 1676	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 150
7.	Shaista Khan	1676-1677	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p. 150
8.	Prince Muhammad Azam (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Nurullah (b) Shaista Khan (c) Abu Nasar	1678-1688	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, pp. 168-169.
9.	Ibrahim Khan	1689-1698	Maasir-ul- Umara, Vol.I, p.299.
10.	Ghaznafar Khan	June 1698-1700	Fort St. George Dairy, 24 May, 1698.
11.	Askar Khan	1701-1702	Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, p.116 b, 117 b, 220 a.
12.	Murshid Quli Khan	1703-1710	Maasir-i-Alamgiri, p.288.

Table-1.5
LATER MUGHALS

Sl. No.	Name of the Governor	Period of Governorship	Sources
1.	Sipahdar Khan* (Ruled by his deputy), (a) Hasan Beg Safshikan Khan	1711-1714	Maasir-ul-Umara, Vol.III, p.951. Ibid., Vol.I, p. 323
2.	Jafar Khan(Murshid Quli Khan) (Ruled by his deputy) (a) Shujauddin Muhammad Khan	May 1714-1724	Riyaz-us-Salatin, trs, pp.273-274. Seir-ul-Mutakherin, p.469.
3.	Shujauddin Muhammad Khan (Ruled by his deputies) (b) Md. Taqi (c) Murshid Quli Khan-II	1727-1739	Riyaz-us-Salatin, pp.285-286.
4.	Sarfaraz Khan (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Murshid Quli Khan-II	1739-1740	Riyaz-us-Salatin, pp.307-308.
5.	Alivardi Khan (Mahabat Jang) (Ruled by his deputies) (a) Said Ahmad Khan* (Saulat Jang) (b) Shaikh Masum* (c) Raja Durlab Ram*	1740-1751	Riyaz-us-Salatin, p.321.

* Sipahdar Khan had received the title of Khan Jahan Izz-ud-Daula Bahadur by the Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah. Cf. *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol.III, op.cit., p.951.

* Said Ahmad Khan was the nephew of Alivardi Khan.

* During the time of the Mahratta invasion of Orissa under Bhaskar Pandit Sheikh Muhammad Masum was the Nazim of Orissa under Alivardi Khan. Cf. *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, pp.505,519.

* Raja Durlab Ram was in charge of Orissa during the Mahratta invasion under Raghoji Bhoslah. Cf. *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, pp.545-548.

Chapter-II

Social Stratification and its institution

The Hindu philosopher has reckoned four states of auspiciousness of their society, which they term *Varna*¹ viz., Brahman, kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. It is believed that this four class system has created by god as stated in Smritis. The *Manu Smriti*² has given the description in *Purushasukta* that “for the extension of the peoples the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra were created from the mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively.”

Apart from the above mention four varna, Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* has given description about the fifth class termed *Mlechha*.³ He has perhaps indicates towards other mixed castes. Similarly, Jahangir has describes in his memoirs that “the Hindus are in four division and each of these acts according to its own rules and way”.⁴ However, there are many literary and epigraphic sources which throw lights on the social stratification and life of the people of Orissa during the medieval period. Orissa was one of the Hindu states since the ancient period, so the *Varnaashram* (four fold classification of the Hindu society) was also practiced here and accepted by all the preceding Hindu dynasties of Orissa. Even after the commencement of the Muslim administration in Orissa under the Mughals, the institutional basis of social order remained substantially unaltered. The caste system continued to function undisturbed rather coming of Muslims introduced a new element in the social structure of Orissa.

It is a fact to notice that, during the period of our discussion besides four sanctioned castes, various sub-castes and communities were also existed in Orissa. Due to social evolution each of the sub-castes frames its independent regulation of professional and social character.⁵ We also find references that, the rigidity in the

¹ Varna means colour and denotes a race but when we say *Chaturvarnayatmak Hindu Samaj*, We simply understand it in the sense of four class or castes of the Hindu Society. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, ed. NawalKishor, Lucknow, 1881, Vol.III, p.42.

² *Manusmriti*, ed. G.Jha, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 9-39; In *Bhagavat Gita*, it is stated that ‘ I have created the four class system, dividing them according to guna and karma, Cf. ‘*Encyclopedia of Indian Society and Culture*’, ed. Raj Kumar Pruthi and Rameshwari Devi , Jaipur, 2002, Vol.I, pp.107-108.

³ AbulFazl mentions that other than the four Varnas there were Mlechchha. Who were produced from the cow Kamadhenu. Cf. *Ain-i- Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.42.

⁴ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit., p.119.

⁵ *E.I. XXVIII*, pp. 235-58.

Brahmanical system faded out during this period that the Brahmans were not strictly confined to their caste profession. Even there was upward mobility in the lower stratum of the society. However, as other part of India, the Hindu population of Orissa normally was divided according to the four fold classification of the Hindu society during the period under review, which are as follows:

Brahmans:

The Brahamans were occupied the highest position in the social hierarchy and were the custodian of religious learning. They were law makers and maintained high code of conduct and led a pure and pious life.⁶ According to the *Ain-i-Akbari* 'The Brahamans have six recognized duties like- The study of the Vedas and other science, the instruction of others (in the sacred texts), the performances of jag(yaga), oblation of money and kind to the *Devatas*, inciting others to the same, giving presents and receiving presents.'⁷ Jahangir also describes in his *Tuzuk* that, the duties of Brahmans are of six kind viz. to acquire religious knowledge, give instructions to others, to worship fire, to lead men to the worship of fire, giving something to the needy and taking gifts.⁸

During the period under discussion, although the Brahmans of Orissa were treated as the respected and privileged class in the society but followed many vocation for their livelihood. That during this period, the monopoly of the Oriya Brahmans as the custodian of the *Dharmasastras* broke because of the rise of the Jagannatha cult, the upward mobility of the Sudras and by economic exigencies.⁹ As a result of this, some of the Brahmans severed themselves from their traditional duties and adopted the vocation of other lower grade people. The degeneration of the Brahman society becomes conspicuous in the writing of the contemporary poet Sarala Dasa. Who, while depicting the descent of the Kaliage in his Mahabharata¹⁰ offers a graphic picture of the life and role of the Brahmans in the medieval Orissa. According to the poet, the Brahmans would serve under the monarch, would separate themselves from their traditional duties, involved themselves in politics, farm the land, shed animal

⁶ Tavernier, Baptist; *The Travels in India*, trs., V. Ball, London, 1889, reprint, New Delhi, 1977, Vol.II, p.142.

⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.III, p.42.

⁸ *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit., p.119.

⁹ *EpigraphiaIndica*, Vol-I. 21, No.2, September, 1984, pp. 82-83.

¹⁰ Sarala Mahabharata (Oriya), Swargaroharaparva, ed. A.B. Mohanty, Orissa Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar, 1970. pp. 9-11.

blood and practice corruption and vice. So during the Mughal period profession was used, to decide the status of Brahmans in Orissa. That the Brahmans performing religious rites, rituals and priestly functions were regarded as superior class Brahamans and known as the *Vaidek Brahman* or *Sasani Brahman*,¹¹ the Brahmans associated with warfare were known as *Brahman Ksatriya*,¹² the Brahmans, who were engaged as cooks in the temple of lord Jagannath came to be known as *Laukik Brahman*,¹³ where as the Brahmans who adopted the profession of cultivation came to be known as the *Balarama Gotris* and considered the lord Balarama(plough god) as their chief deity.¹⁴

Further, with the evolution of the Jagannath cult the Vaidek Brahmans of Orissa was also divided into two sections- the *Jajpurotriya* and *Dakshinotriya*¹⁵ but the main functions of both were to study and teaching of the Vedas and performance of the religious rites. The Persian chronicles, Oriya literatures and the Madlapanji describes about the existence of a host of *Purohits* attached to the temples of Orissa¹⁶ and performing mainly the religious rites.¹⁷ Besides their functions as priests, they used to perform a number of social functions of vital importance like coronation ceremony of the rulers, marriage fixation, sacred thread ceremony and funerals etc. Kavi Vishnu Das in his *Kavya Kalavati*¹⁸ tells about a Brahman who mediates in a

¹¹ The group of Brahamans were lived in a colony which were grew up by the aid of local king or royal house called as Sasna. Further it was rent free. Cf., *Medieval Orissa – a Socio-economic study* by S.K. Panda, New Delhi, 1991, pp.80-81.

¹² The Brahmans associated with war fare were termed as Paika during the Mughal period, Cf. Champati Ray '*PaikaKheda*'(Oriya), ed. Sadasiba Ratha Sarma, Cuttack, 1953, p.3. Brahmans in Orissa still posses the title of *Pati*, *Senapati*, *Mahapatra* etc. which indicated their position in the battle field during the Mughal period. Cf. *South Indian Inscription*, Vol-V, No.835, Madras, 1923-29, See also '*Cultural Advancement of Orissa under the Gangas of kalinga*', by Ratnagiri Rao, Calcutta, 1994, p.73.

¹³ O' Malley, L.S.S, *Bengal District Gazetteer- Puri*, Calcutta, 1908, p. 80; *Bengal District Gazetteer Balasore*, Calcutta,1907. p.60.

¹⁴ *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Traditions of Orissa*, ed. H. Kulke and G. C .Tripathy, New Delhi,1978, p.425

¹⁵ The Brahamans those who settled on the northern part of the river Brahmani at Jajpur were called Jajpurotriya and the Brahamans settled in the southern part of the river Brahmani were called Dakshinotriya or southern.

¹⁶ Bruton,William, '*A Voyage to Bengala- Accounts of Cuttack and Puri*', Cf. O.H.R.J, Vol-X, No.3, 1961, p.46.

¹⁷ Sterling., A , '*Orissa- Its Geography, Statistics, History, Religion and Antiquities*', London,1846, p. XLIII.

¹⁸ Vishnu Das, '*Kavya Kalavati*', ed. K.N. Mahapatra, Bhubaneswar, 1961, pp. 4-7.

marriage settlement, some of the Brahmans also have adopted the profession of astrologer.¹⁹

Kshatriya:

The derivative meaning of the word *Kshatriya* is one who kills or a class of fighters.²⁰ The Kshatriyas mainly consisted of royal family and state officials, their position were next to the Brahman in social hierarchy, they were governing class and performed the executive functions of the state. It was their duty to protect and preserve order against external aggressions and internal forces creating disorders.²¹ The *Dharmasastra* entrusted them with administrative and militaristic tasks.²² According to Abul fazl, the kshatriyas must perform some duties such as 'Perusing the holy texts, the performance of the jag and giving presents. Further, they must, minister to Brahmans, control the administration of worldly government and receive the reward thereof, protect religion, exact fines for delinquency and observe adequate measure therein, punish in proportion to the offence, amass wealth and duly expand it, supervise the management of elephants, horse and cattle and the function of ministerial sub-ordinate, levy war on due occasion, never ask an alms and favour the meritorious and the like'.²³

As elsewhere, all the dynastic rulers of Orissa prior to Mughals even the rajas of the Garjat area of the Mughal period claimed descent from kshatriya caste.²⁴ Further the references of *maharaja*, *ranaka*, *samanta*, *mahasamanta* etc. in the Orissan records of the medieval period leads us to conclude that, the kshatriya as a caste group long existed in Orissa. The upward mobility of the tribal into Kshatriyas in Orissa are also evident from the fact that, during the Mughal period many tribal chieftains and peasant militia class began to ascended to the rank and file of the

¹⁹ The Orissa Museum plates of Anangabhimadeva-III, records the names of some Brahman astrologers (Sarvajna), Cf. O.H.R.J, XII, 1963, pp.164-96,

²⁰ 'Encyclopaedia of Indian Society and Culture', op.cit., Vol.I, p.114.

²¹ *Brihadharma Purana*, edn. Bangabasi, B.S.1314, pp.5-34, 35; 'Prataprudradeva- the last great Suriyavamsi king' by Dipti Ray, New Delhi, 2007, pp.81-82.

²² Rock hill, *Life of Buddha*, Calcutta, 1978, p.7.

²³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.III, p. 42.

²⁴ The rulers of Ganga and Gajapati of Orissa were originally not kshatriya but later claimed the status of kshatriya and established matrimonial relation with the Kshatriya rulers of the south India. Cf. *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, VI, Rajahmundry, 1969, p.214.

ksatriyas.²⁵ Herman Kulke is of opinion that ‘the model of the ksatriyaization in Orissa adopted by the political authorities after the downfall of the centre Hindu dynasty in 1540-1568’.²⁶

However, after the shifting of power from the Hindu rulers of Orissa to the hands of the Mughals, many kshatriyas of previous regime were admitted into the administrative structure of the state as important civil and military officers like *Choudaries*, *Qanungos* and *talukdars*.²⁷ There are references of the existence of a militia class called as *Khandait*²⁸ in the Mughal Orissa, who were mainly performing the militaristic duty under the rajas of garjat area. As we know, a great part of Orissa was left under the *garjat* rajas and chiefs under the Mughal administration, these rajas and chiefs had their own armies. It is presumed that, the *Khandaits* must have been performing military service to these local rajas and chief as part time soldiers during the period of war and cultivating land during the time of peace. These subordinate rajas of Orissa used to supplies the *Khandaits* in military contingent to the Mughals in the time of need. From the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, we come across an incident that, the Raja of Gajapati supplied many *Khandait* or *Paik* (foot soldiers) to the Mughal general Khan-i-Alam during his campaign of Hajipur against the Afghans.²⁹ The Muslim administrative officers (*mansabdars*) were also required to supply the requisite number of soldiers during the time of necessity. The *khandaits* must have been performing this job for the Muslim administrators during the Mughal period in Orissa. Sterling writes some *Khandaits* of old regime or landed chiefs of other categories were given a *sanad* with a provision for their attending to the *faujdar* or *nazim* with contingents of *Paiks*, when required to do so and bound on all occasion to

²⁵ The term Ksatriya was applied without any distinction. Anybody who became dominant called themselves Ksatriya. Cf. S.V. Kettar, ‘*History of Caste in India*’, New York, 1909, p. 94.

²⁶ Kulke, H, ‘*Kshatriyaization and Social change- A Study in Orissa Setting*’ ed. S. Devidas Pillai in ‘*Aspects of Changing India*’, Bombay, 1976, pp. 398-409.

²⁷ The Persian Manuscript of the seventeenth century at astana of Hazrat Syed Ahmad Saiyed Shah at Baligoan, Chandbali, informs us that the *Kaimapargana* of Bhadraksarkar was under Jai Kishan(local kshatriya serving as Qanongo under the Mughal. See photo copy of MSS in Appendix.

²⁸ The term *Khandait* has comes from the local word –*Khanda* which means sword and *Khandait* means swordsman, they were the descendants of the people who formed the peasant militia under the ancient rajas of Orissa. They were serving as soldiers in the time of war and they were given lands to hold under a strictly military tenure to cultivate in the time of peace. Cf. O, Malley, L.L.S, *Bengal District Gazetteer*, Balasore, op.cit., P.59.

²⁹ *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p. 318.

give their best services in subduing refractory subject.³⁰ The *Paiks* of our period seems to have belonged to *Khandait* caste and claimed presumably the status or rank of Kshatriyas in the society.

Vaishyas:

The word Vaishya is pertaining to *Visha* which is a synonym for trade³¹. The Vaishyas were in third position in the social hierarchy.³² This class was working as traders and expected to manage finance. Abul Fazl mentions that the Vaishyas must occupy himself in service, agriculture, trade, cattle breeding and the carrying of loads³³. So trade was the exclusive profession of the Vaishya caste.³⁴ From the epigraphic and literary sources of Orissa it is evident that, the Vaishya caste was comprised a large bulk of population in Orissa. Poet Sarala Das narrates the characteristics of the Vaishyas of Orissa through the *Yama* (god of death) in his Oriya Mahabharata that the Vaishya should not tell lies for profit, a true Vaishya should not indulge in illicit intercourse.³⁵ The literary sources of medieval Orissa referenced a host of social groups viz., Baidya (physician), Badhai (carpenter), Darzi (tailor), Gauda (milkman), Kamar (blacksmith), Kansari (worker in brass and bell metal), Kumbhara (potter), Sadhavas (merchants), Sankhari (worker in shells), Tanti (weaver), Teli (oil seller), who were said to be included in the Vaishya caste. After the Mughal conquest, the Muslim merchants (*saudagar*) also started their trade transaction in Orissa via Bengal. The Mughals also replaced the shell (*kauri*) as a medium of exchange into money system. Markets for goods and products required by Muslims were also established in different parts of Orissa.³⁶

During the Mughal period, there are references of an educated class in Orissa, who belonged to the Vaishyas community but earned high merits in the society. They were known by various names like *Kayastha*, *Karana*, *Karnika*, *Lekhaka* and

³⁰ *Orissa-Its Geography, Statistic, History, Religion and Antiquities*, op.cit., Appendix, p. XI.

³¹ *Encyclopaedia of Indian society and culture*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.119.

³² Tavernier, *Travels in India*, op.cit, Vol.II, p.144.

³³ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit, Vol.III, p.42.

³⁴ *South India Inscription*, Vol-V, 1237, *Bharati*, Madras, February, 1935, p.305f.

³⁵ *Sarala Mahabharata* (Oriya), op. cit., pp.26-29.

³⁶ The markets established by the Mughals are still existed viz., *Mahamudia Bazar*, *Dewan Bazar*, *Balu Bazar*, *Bakshi Bazar*, Chandni chowk etc, in Cuttack district of Orissa..

Aksapatalidhikrta.³⁷ The Arasavalli plates³⁸ of Vajrahasta-III, mention that *Kayastha* in Orissa belonged to the *Kasyapagotra*. Basically, they were a hereditary class of writers and seem to be state officials, doing clerical works, ascribing charters and documents prior to the Mughals but they emerged as an influential caste in the society of Mughal Orissa.³⁹ The Kayasthas were seems to be most favoured class for recruitment into the Mughal government in Orissa as clerks, *patwari*, accountants, and other petty officer at the *pargana* and sarkar level during the period under review.

Sudras:

The Sudras occupied the fourth position in the social hierarchy of Orissa. The *Dharmasastra* entrusted them with servile and menial work of life.⁴⁰ According to Abul Fazl, “the Sudra is incapable of any other privilege than to serve these three castes, wear their cast off garments and eat their leavings. He may be a painter, gold smith, black smith, carpenter and trade in salt, honey, milk, butter milk, clarified butter and grain’.⁴¹ The literary sources throws light that during the Mughal period , the Sudras tried to exalt their status in the existing social structure in Orissa that many Sudras were doing cultivation,⁴² some were also recruited as soldiers to the military department. The *Paikakheda* describes that the *Achchava* (Sudra) are recruited to the military department.⁴³ They also occupied an important place in sphere of education and learning⁴⁴ during the Mughal period in Orissa.

As elsewhere, the *Chandalas* (untouchable) occupied the lowest position in the Orissan Society and regarded the most degraded of the human species. Their professions were unclean according to the Aryan standard. Its members were not allowed to live within the walls of the town.⁴⁵ Several restrictions were imposed on them during the said period.

³⁷ R.S, Sharma, ‘*Social Changes in Early Medieval India*’, Calcutta, 1967, p.16. See also ‘*Medieval Orissa- A Socio-Economic Study*, op.cit, p.85.

³⁸ *EI*, XXXII, pp.311-16.

³⁹ Sah, A.P, ‘*Aspects of Life In Medieval Orissa(c.600-1200)*’ Varanasi, 1976, p132.

⁴⁰ *Vasistha Dharmasastra*, (Oriya), Dharmagrantha press, Cuttack, Vol- II, pp,18-20, See also, *Socio-Economic life in Medieval Orissa*, Calcutta, 1988, p.7.

⁴¹ Abul, Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.III, p.42.

⁴² *Sarala Mahabharata* (Oriya), *Udyogaparva*, op.cit., pp76-78.

⁴³ Champati Ray, *Paik Kheda*, op.cit., p.6.

⁴⁴ Poet Sarala Das and Balaram Das were Sudra but they wrote two monumental work of Oriya literature in 16th century, Cf. S.N. Das, ‘*Odiya Sahitya Itihasa*’, part-I, Cuttack, 1963, p.374.

⁴⁵ Dutta, N. K, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, Vol-I, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 274-275.

The epigraphic and literary source of our period gives the reference of existences of many aboriginal tribes like. *Savaras, Khonds, Gonds, Bhuyans, Santhals and Jaungas* in Orissa during the Mughal rule, who lived in the inaccessible mountains, jungles and hill slopes especially in the Garjat area. Their life style was totally different⁴⁶ from the people living in the *Mughalbandi* area of Orissa.

Muslims:

The Social structure of Orissan society during the period under review would be incomplete without the reference to the Muslims of Orissa. Although Orissa's first contact with the Muslims dates back to the beginning of the 13th century but their settlements is evident only after the Sulaiman Karrani's invasion in 1568 A.D. The Muslims contact with Orissa before 1568 A.D was military raids only. There is a controversy regarding the dates of Muslim settlement in Orissa, Sir Jadunath Sarkar pointed out that "upto the middle of the 18th century, Orissa had been a Hindu country both in its royal house and in its population".⁴⁷ Even Krishana Das in his work *Chaitanya Charitamrita* writes that, during the time of saint Chaitaniya's journey to Jagannath of Puri from Nadia the last outpost of the Muslim rule was Pichaldah.⁴⁸ Niametullah also mentions that Puri was not visited by any Muhammadan before Sulaiman karrani's invasions in 1568.⁴⁹ But Duarte Barbosa, while writing on Orissa in about 1518 A.D. informs us that, there were only few Muslims living in Orissa.⁵⁰ Katarajavamsavali also references that, during the seventh regnal year of Prataprudra Deva of Suryavamsi dynasty some *Mlecchas* named Mughals came and settled near the fort of Cuttack⁵¹ which is contrary of the above discussion.

However, with the commencement of the Mughal administration the process of migration of Muslims as administrators, military generals, foot soldiers, office bearer and clerks to Orissa began. Later with the passes of time, the Muslim Ulemas, Saints and Fakirs from different parts of India and abroad came to Orissa, to cater

⁴⁶ *Calcutta Review*, Vol-93, No-185, Calcutta University, 1891, p.109.

⁴⁷ Sarkar, Jadunath, *History of Bengal* (Muslim Period, 1200-1757), Patna, 1973, Vol-II, p.188.

⁴⁸ Kaviraj Krishnadas, '*Chaitanya Charitamrita*', ed., S.C. Majumdar, Calcutta, 1941, Vol- II p. 16; Pichhalda situated on the Southern Bank of the Rupnarayan at a distance of 12 miles from its confluence with the Hugli river, it has named as *Pisolta* in the map of D. Barros, Cf. *J.A.S.B.* (1892) p. 112.

⁴⁹ Niamatullah, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.413.

⁵⁰ Barbosa, Duarte, "*The Book of Duarte Barbosa*:" ed., M. L. Dames, Hakluyt Society, London, Vol.I, p. 228 in *O.H.R.J.* Vol-II, July, 1953. No.2, appendix-III, p.19.

⁵¹ *Katarajavamsavali*, op.cit., MSS. No. 67. p.90.

their religious need. In due course of time, they were also granted Jagirs by the Mughal Subedars and settled in Orissa permanently.⁵² Thus, the Muslim settlements primarily grew in Jaleswer, Bhadrak, Jaipur, cuttack and Pipli area, which were the seats of government and centers of their religion and culture but their population in Orissa during the period under review was very small in comparison to the other Muslim rule province.

The social structure of the Muslim community had been very antithesis of the Hinduism. That there is no social division among the Muslims on the basis of birth or race and there was no predominance of one clan over the other. According to Amir Ali “the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H), recognizes no castes or priesthood, allow no monopoly of spiritual knowledge or special holiness to intervene between man and his God”.⁵³ But when Islam came in the Indian subcontinent, could not escape from the social hierarchical influence based on birth among Hindu society. That the converts to Islam did not changed their old environment and revealed Hindu origin in their religions and social life almost at every turn. So the Muslims of India assimilated with the broad features of Hindus.⁵⁴ Thus despite the egalitarian philosophy of Islam, there have been social grades within the Muslim society in India. It has classified in two categories. firstly, those of foreign extracts calling themselves *Ashraf* (consisting mostly of foreign Muslim of superior stock viz. from Arab, Turk, Afghanistan, Khorsan and Iran). Secondly, those of Indian origin called *Ajlaf* (comprising converted Hindus even of artisans and workmen of foreign extracts who had settled in India in their profession). The *Ashraf* claimed a superior status because of their direct relationship with the conquerors, Sultans and the royal house whereas the local converts to Islam, although exempted from *Jizya* (toll tax) but could not hope to rank equal with the *Ashraf* and their descendants.⁵⁵ Further the *Ashraf* were divided into four social group based on race like *Saiyyad*, *Shaikh*, *Mughal* and *Pathan*.⁵⁶

⁵² Thevenot, the European traveler, observed that many Muslims lived in Orissa in the mid of the seventeen century Cf. Thevenot, *Indian Travels of M.D Thevenot and J Careris*, ed. Surendranath Sen, New Delhi, 1949, p.94.

⁵³ S. Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1955, p. 165.

⁵⁴ K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of People of Hindustan*, New Delhi, 1970, p. 107.

⁵⁵ Ahmed Rafiuddin, *The Bengal Muslims (1871-1906)*, Delhi, 1981, p.8.

⁵⁶ The Sayyad were believed to be descendants of the Prophet's daughter Fatimah and Ali (the son-in-law or the fourth caliph of Islam), the Shaikh were the chiefs claiming descent from Arab ancestors; the Mughals and the Pathans were reputedly descended respectively from the Mangols and Afghan conquerors of India. Cf. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol-VII, No. 2, (1904), p. 99.

The Muslim society in Orissa as elsewhere in India was composed of both immigrants and indigenous converts during the Mughal period. The early census reports of Orissa mentions the Saiyyad, Shaikh, Mughal and Pathan as the different Muslim social groups⁵⁷ who were commonly called as *Ashraf* and seemed to have commanded majority in Orissa's Muslim society because the references of conversion into Islam was very few in Orissa. However, the society of Mughal Orissa was broadly divided into two communities. Hindu and Muslim and there was better harmony and understanding between both during the period under review. Although some instance of Muslim raid and destruction of temples found but that most be treated as political episode. There are also many instances of land grant by the Muslims for the maintenance of the Hindu institution in Orissa.

Social Institution:

Every societies of the world are having their own institutions, which represents their cultural values, norms and traits for fulfilling the needs of its members and guides them in the performance of their daily living. Similarly the Society of Orissa under the Mughals was consisted of many social institutions. Which are as follows:

Marriage:

Marriage is an important and universal institution of the human society. It implies, a ceremony for the union of a man and woman with social sanctions and recognition of the community to their relationship. It was the most important institution for the welfare of the society. As elsewhere, the people of Orissa also regarded marriage as one of the most important institution of Society with the aim of *Dharma*, *Praja* (progeny) and *rati* (pleasure).⁵⁸

There were eight forms of marriage among Hindus in the Mughal Orissa like- *Brahma*.⁵⁹ *Daiva* (in this form of marriage father gave away his daughter to a priest who duly officiated at the performance of a sacrifices), *Arsa* (in this form father gave away his daughter receiving a cow and a bull from the bride groom), *Prajapatya* (In

⁵⁷ Hunter W.W., *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1877, Vol. XVIII, p. 79.

⁵⁸ Michael Edward, *Everyday life in Early India*, London, 1969, p.35.

⁵⁹ According to Abul Fazl in this form of marriage 'the girl's father with other elders of the family visit the bride groom and bring him to his house, where the relatives assemble.' Cf *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p. 141.

this form, father gave his daughter after addressing the couple with the text may both of you perform together your duty), *Asura* (in this bride was purchased by giving a suitable price to her parents),⁶⁰ *Gandharra* (the voluntary union of a maiden and her lover) *Rakshasa* (the forcible abduction of a maiden from her home) and *Pisacha* (where a man seduced a girl by getting her intoxicated or by other means).⁶¹ Besides these, *anuloma* and *pratiloma* forms of marriages were also existed in the society of Mughal Orissa.⁶² In the *anuloma* form of marriage, the man of higher caste married woman of a lower caste whereas in the *Pratiloma* form, the man of lower caste married with the women of higher caste. But the most popular form of marriages prevalent in the society of Mughal Orissa were the *Brahma*, *Gandharva* and a form of combining both.⁶³ The literary sources also describes about the *Svayamvara* (self choice) form of marriage in Orissa during the medieval period. It was prevalent among the royal families only, in this form, the princess used to select her husband among the invited prince from the far and near states.⁶⁴

Age of marriage:

According to *smritis*, the girls should be given in marriage before they attain puberty.⁶⁵ *Manu smriti* prescribes that the girls aged eight and twelve should be married to the persons aged twenty four and thirty respectively. There are references of the pre puberty marriage in the literary sources of the medieval Orissa. Sarala Das views that the real marriageable age of a girl was seven.⁶⁶ It was prevalent among the high class families viz., Rajas, Nobles and Zamindars of Orissa. Abul Fazl writes that the bride should not be under eight and any age over ten thought improper.⁶⁷ But during the Mughal period both pre-puberty and post puberty marriage were prevalent in the Orissa society which are evident from the contemporary literary work of

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.142. According to AbulFazl in this form ,the maiden is received in marriage after as much wealth has been presented to her kinsmen. but Baba Mishra is of the opinion that this form of marriage became very popular in Orissa after the advent of the Afghan. Cf. '*Medieval Orissa and cult of Jagannath* ,op.cit., p.168.

⁶¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.141-42.

⁶² Michael, Edward, '*Everyday life in Early India*', op.cit.,p. 35.

⁶³ Sahoo, K.C., '*Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*' (Ranchi), 1976, p. 78.

⁶⁴ Das, Pandit S.N.,*Odiya Sahitya Itihasa*,Cuttack,1968, Vol-II, pp. 143, 399, 416, 422; Vol-III, pp. 90-91, 183, 370-372, 544-545, 569-660.

⁶⁵ Rath, Dinabandhu,*Sarala Mahabharata Samajika Jeeban*, Cuttack, 1974, p. 24

⁶⁶ *Sarala Mahabharata*, 'part-I, (Adiparva), op. cit, p. 109. See also. *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa* ' op. cit, pp. 79-80.

⁶⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.143.

Upendra Bhanja, who writes about the pre-puberty marriage of *Premasudhanidhi*⁶⁸ and post-puberty marriage of *Lavanyabati*. There was no age limit for the bridegroom. He could marry even in his old age.⁶⁹

During the Mughal period the marriage proposal was usually initiated by parents in Orissa. It was also settled by mediators, a *sanyasi* (wandering saint) was taken as the best type of mediator.⁷⁰ In the selection of brides and bride grooms, much stress was given on *Jati* (caste), *Kula* (family), *gotra* (lineage), beauty and character by the respective parents. But marriage within one's own caste was considered ideal in the sixteenth century Orissa.⁷¹ In such arranged marriage the boys and the girls usually gives their consent.⁷²

The contemporary Oriya literature described that there was a customs in the Mughal Orissa, to consult an astrologer (*Jyotisha*) before the Marriage could be finally settled, who examine the *Jataka* (Horoscopes) of the bride and bride groom and matching of the horoscope of the bride and bride groom is considered better for the marital life.⁷³ Poet Upendra Bhanja writes that in the marriage of Lavanyabati with Chandrabhanu the matching of *Jatakas* was taken into account at the first stage.⁷⁴ After matching of the horoscopes, an oral promise of the marriage was held between the parents of both the party in the presence of relatives and friends. This ceremony was called as *Nirbandha* (betrothal) in the Mughal Orissa.⁷⁵ The astrologer was again consulted in order to fix a suitable date for the marriage⁷⁶ after this the preparation of marriage ceremony begin. There were certain rituals to complete the marriage ceremony viz. *Mangalana*, *Gandhasana*, *Badusnana*, *Batabarana*, *Madhuparna*, *Kanyadana*, *Saptapadi*, *Panchagrasi* etc. All these rituals are properly performed in the presence of a Brahmin who performed main role in the *bedi* (an elevated ground constructed to conduct marriage) and enchanted Vedic mantras to

⁶⁸ Bhanja, Upendra, *Premasudhanidhi* and '*Lavanyabati Kavya*', Cf. *Odiya Sahityara Itihasa*, op.cit., Vol.I, pp. 320, 379-380.

⁶⁹ Sarala, *Mahabharata*(Oriya), Swargarohanaparva, op.cit., p. 7.

⁷⁰ *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, 'op. cit, p. 77.

⁷¹ Sarala, *Mahabharata*, (Oriya) ,Swargarohana, Parva, op. cit., p. 28.

⁷² Ibid., Madhya Prava, p. 210.

⁷³ Srinivasacharya, '*Bruhat Srinivasa Dipika*', (Oriya), part-II, Cuttack-2, 1959, p.181, See also , Kalyanamalla's '*Anangaranga*', trs., R. Bruton and F.F. Arbuthnot, Delhi, 1977, appendix-I

⁷⁴ Bhanja Upendra, *Lavanyabati*, 28th Chhanda, Cf. *Odiya Sahityara Itihasa* (Oriya), op.cit., Vol.III p. 188.

⁷⁵ Rath, *Sarala Mahabharataare Samajika Jeeban*, op.cit., p. 54.

⁷⁶ *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit., p. 81.

complete the rituals of marriage. To celebrate the marriage ceremony, the parents of bride decorate their house, beautiful gates were fixed in front of their houses. A *mandap* (alter) and *Bedi* (an elevated ground) was created in the courtyard for the performance of marriage rites. Sometimes the *mandap* was decorated by colourful clothes, flower and green leaves of mangoes and banana trees.⁷⁷

Mangalana ceremony was performed one day before the marriage. On this day, house deities were worshipped. Both the bride and bride groom put on new dresses and anointed with *Chandan* (sandal), *Karpura* and *Alata*, it has also named as *Gandhasana* in the literature of the Medieval Orissa.⁷⁸ Another ritual performed in the night before the marriage day was *Baduasnana* for the bride and bride-groom respectively,⁷⁹ in which married women in groups of seven went with jars, singing all the way, to bring water from the neighbored houses, which was known as *Chori-Pani* or *Badua-pani*. Then, the bride groom sat on a wooden plate called *Pidha* and his body was smeared with the paste of turmeric known in local as '*Haridra lepan*' after this the bride groom took bath from the *choripani*. Similar function was also observed in the bride house.⁸⁰

Marriage functions were usually held in the residence of the bride's father.⁸¹ So, it was customary on the part of the bridegroom to proceed to the house of the bride for marriage. There are many references of *Barayatara* (Marriage procession) in the Oriya literature of Mughal period that on the marriage day, the bride-groom went to the house of the bride in a *Sabari* (palanquin) accompanied by his friends and relatives in a procession. The dance, music and chanting of sacred verse were continued all the way.⁸² If it was night, a number of *Mashals* (candles) were lighted and arranged on a bamboo ladder, different kinds of *Vanas* or *atasabaji* (fire work) were also used in the marriage procession. The village women used to come in groups to see the bride-groom.⁸³

⁷⁷ Das, Arjuna, '*Kalpalata*', ed. K.N. Mahapatra, Bhubaneswar, 1961, pp. 60-61

⁷⁸ Bhanja Upendra, '*Koti Brahmanda Sundari*', 14th Chanda, Cf. Das, S.N. *Odiya Sahitya Itihasa*, op. cit., Vol-II, pp. 146, 597, 598, 698. See also '*Sarala Mahabharata Samajika Jeeban*', op. cit., 42.

⁷⁹ '*Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*', op. cit., pp. 81-82.

⁸⁰ Ratha, '*Sarala Mahabharata Samajika Jeeban*', op. cit., p. 43.

⁸¹ *Mahabharata*, (Sanskrit), Biratparva, pub. Gita press, Gorakhpur, Canto No. 72.

⁸² Rajabali Pandey, *Hindu Samskara*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 237-238, 365,

⁸³ Bhanja Upendra, '*Koti Brahmanda Sundari*', 32nd chanda, op. cit., pp. 313, 598, 599, See also K.C. Sahoo, *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit, p. 83.

When the bride groom reached at the bride's house, he was welcomed by the father or elder brother of the bride with flowers, sandal wood paste, and a pair of coconuts then the bride groom walks ten steps holding the hands of host towards his house. This ritual was known as *Bata-Barana* in Mughal Orissa.⁸⁴ After this bride groom went to the *bedi* (altar) and sat in front of the *Poorna Kumbha* (Jar full of water), with this proper marriage started. The father of the bride also sits beside the bride groom, facing towards the east. At the altar priest recited the *Mahavakya*⁸⁵ and worshiped the Varuna and invites the *Dasadiga palas* and *Naba-grahas*, to witness the marriage. Subsequently, the father of bride offered clothes, ornaments, coconuts, sacred threads, rings and flowers to bridegroom. At the same time, the women from the bride's house went to worship the village god by singing *Mangala Gita*⁸⁶ then they welcomed bridegroom to the bride's house, where both the bride groom and bride sat on new mat made of grass known as '*Katambasana*'.⁸⁷ Here the women besmeared *chandan* and *haladi* on the body of the bride and bride groom.

Then the bride-groom went to the *bedi* (altar) for the second time. This time the bride also went to the altar to show her homage to the bride-groom with flowers and coconuts.⁸⁸ Then *Labana churi bidhi* was performed in which, a clothe put between the bride and the bride-groom and the bride threw some rice mixed with *labana* (salt) and *guda* (molasses) on the bride groom and returned to her home.⁸⁹

The father of the bride welcomed the groom for the third time. He washed his feet with the water of a green coconut mixed with *kumkum* and offered him a pair of *Paduka* (wooden shoe).⁹⁰ This was followed by *Madhu parka*⁹¹ ceremony in which the father of bride gave some honey mixed with Ghee and curd to the bride-groom for *achamana*. After this, Brahmins went for their meals⁹² and the bride-groom sent a cloth known as *Baula-bata* and *Mangala Sutra* (a sacred thread) to the bride. She put on that clothes and comes to the altar.⁹³ This was followed by *Gotra charana*

⁸⁴ Balarama Das, *Jagamohana Ramayan*, Adi Kanda, Dharmagrantha Store, Cuttack, 1979, pp. 192-196.

⁸⁵ Biharilal, *Bihari Karmakanda*, op.cit., pp. 335-336.

⁸⁶ *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit, pp. 84-85.

⁸⁷ *Sarala Mahabhanata*, Madhya Parva, op.cit., p. 285

⁸⁸ BalaramDasa, *Jagamohan Ramayana*, Adi Kanda, op.cit., p. 197.

⁸⁹ '*Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*', op.cit, pp. 84-85.

⁹⁰ *Jagamohan Ramayana*, Adi Kanda, op.cit., p. 197.

⁹¹ Panda Rajbali, *Hindu Samskaras*, Ch-VIII, op.cit., p. 268.

⁹² *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit., p. 85.

⁹³ *Hindu Samskaras*, op.cit., p. 366.

ceremony, in which the name of the ancestor of both the parties with *gotra* and *pravara* were announced.⁹⁴

Another important function in a marriage ceremony was *kanya dana*⁹⁵ (offering of the daughter to the bride-groom). This ceremony was mainly performed by the father of the bride, in this the priest placed fruits and rice on the bride's hand and then placed it on the right hand of the bride-groom and joined the hands of the new couple with *kusha* (a kind of holy grass) it was known as *Hastaganthi*. The father of the bride poured water from *Sankha* (conch) for *Sankalpa* (determination).⁹⁶ At this stage, the bride-groom made a promise of excuse the faults of the bride for ten times. Then, the father of the bride gives *Dakshina*⁹⁷ (Presentation) to the bride groom which was an important rite of marriage during the Mughal period in Orissa. With this, marriage rites were completed.

After the marriage, some *lokachara bidhi* (local rituals) were also performed like the *Antapur*⁹⁸ and the *panchagrasi*⁹⁹ (taking of the five handful of food by the couple), here the newly husband and wife dine together. it was followed by the *Madhu sajya* (Honey Moon nights), during the Mughal period the *Madhu sajya* was taking place on the very day of the marriage in the bride's house.¹⁰⁰ In case the bride was not grow-up the *Madhu sajya* was postponed to a future date and the bride-groom was asked to visit the bride's house on the full-moon day of every month, till she attained her puberty.¹⁰¹

The marriage ceremony in Orissa during the period under review was continued for seven days.¹⁰² Usually, the bride groom returned home with the bride on

⁹⁴ Ibid.p. 371.

⁹⁵ Das, Kartika, *RukminiBibah*, 7th Chhanda, Cf., S.N, Das, *Odiya Sahitya, Itihasa* op. cit., Vol-II, p. 599 .

⁹⁶ *Sarala Mahabharata*, Adiparva, op. cit., p. 122.

⁹⁷ *Hindu Samskaras*, op. cit., p. 314.

⁹⁸ In the Anantapur, the clothes of both bride and bridegroom tied together by the women then they gave some cowrisin bride's hand and asked the bridegroom to take it out and vice-versa. Cf. *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit., p. 362.

⁹⁹ *Sarala Mahabharata*, Madhya Parva, op.cit., pp. 152-153; Balaram Das, *Dandi Ramayan*, Adi Kanda, op.cit., p. 200.

¹⁰⁰ *Sarala Mahabharata*, Birata Parva, ed., A.B. Mohanty, Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, 1970, p. 184.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, Adiparva p. 212.

¹⁰² Ibid, Madhya parva, p.153

the eighth day but in some cases, the bride-groom returned on the next-day of marriage and observed *Chaturthi* and *Saptamangala* in his own house.¹⁰³

The Marriage feast was also arranged, firstly in the bride's house for *Barajatri* (Relatives of bridegroom), guests and villagers, in which different types of delicious food were served to the guests. The bride groom also gives marriage feast after reaching his home with bride. Various kinds of musical instrument viz., *Sankha*, *mahuri*, *Dhola*, *Tamaka*, *Nisana*; *Bansi*, *Nagara* etc were played during the period of marriage by both the party.

Muslim Marriage:

Islam primarily aims at establishing a pious and God fearing society. The first and foremost purpose of institution of marriage envisaged by Islam is regulating the sexual conduct of Muslim within the bounds of certain moral standards and decency. Another purpose is promoting love, affection and good will between the two sexes. Regarding this institution the holy Quran says-

“It is of course He who created you out of one living soul and made mate of like nature so that he may get peace and solace in the mate's company”.¹⁰⁴

In the words of Syed Amir Ali:

“Marriage is an institution ordained for the protection of society and in order that human beings may guard themselves from foulness and unchastity. Marriage is a sacrament so much that, in this world it is an act of ‘*Ibadat*’ or worship, for it preserves mankind from pollution. It is instituted by divine command among members of the human species. Marriage, when treat as a contract is a prominent relationship based on mutual consent on the part of a man and a woman between whom there is no bar in a lawful union”.¹⁰⁵

The Muslims marriages were essentially a civil contract based on *Shariat* (Islamic law). The bride called ‘*Dulhan*’ and bridegroom as *Dulha* whereas marriage called as *Nikah*. Muslims during the period under review were generally married at

¹⁰³ UpendraBhaja, *SubhadraParinaya*, ed.in KabiSamratUpendraBhanjaGranthabali, Dharmagrantha Store, Cuttack-2,1952, p. 92.

¹⁰⁴ *The Quran*, XXX, 21, VII. 183.

¹⁰⁵ Syed Amir Ali, *The Sprit of Islam*, London, 1946, p. 222.

the age of 15 to 18 year old.¹⁰⁶ (This age was perhaps for bridegroom). However after thorough examine of the marriage proposal by the parents, a ring was sent by bridegroom side to the bride. Subsequently, the date and time for marriage was fixed. Another important aspect of the Muslim marriage was *Mehar* (bridal money), which was used to discussed among the parents of both side then settled. It was to be paid in kind or cash decided by families of the bride and bridegroom.¹⁰⁷ Once the *Mehar* is given or promised to the wife it could not be taken back, but a wife can forgive her claim by not demanding the *Mehar*. So the *Mehar* was always formed an important part in a Muslim marriage, it was fixed according to the status of groom in the Mughal period.¹⁰⁸ On the day of marriage, bridegroom with his relatives and friends goes to the house of bride. Where, the *Qazi* makes sermon and registered the name of couple in his marriage diary.¹⁰⁹ It was held in the presence of the parents and witness of both the sides.

The Muslims of Orissa, as elsewhere followed the Islamic norms for marriage ceremony during the Mughal period but with the passage of time many Hindu marriage customs or *lokacharas* were also practiced by the Muslims of Orissa, which were not sanctioned by Islamic law like *Magani* ceremony (like that of *Nirbandha* ceremony of Hindu marriage), *Jalwa* (Bridal show), construction and decoration of marriage *mandap* in the house of bride, where bridegroom and *Qazi* sit to perform marriage (as *bedi* of Hindus of Orissa) and *Barat* (bride groom procession) like *Barajatri* of the Oriyas. We also find many references of wearing of *Mughal kurta* and *Pajama* by the Hindu bride groom on the occasion of his marriage. It particularly founds in the marriage ceremony of the local princes and the son of zamindars during the later Mughal period in Orissa.

Dowry:

The dowry (*Jautuka*) was an important item of Hindu marriages in Mughal Orissa. According the Hindu scripture, giving a daughter was regarded as a kind of

¹⁰⁶ Francisso, Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, tr., W.H. Moreland and P. Geye, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 82-83.

¹⁰⁷ I.A. Zilli, *The Mughal State and Culture (1556-1598)*, selected letters and documents from *Munshat-i-Namakin*, New Delhi, 2007, p. 335.

¹⁰⁸ I.A. Zilli, *The Mughal State and Culture (1556-1598)*, selected letters and documents from *Munshat-i-Namakin*, op.cit., pp. 333-335, Document No. 205-206.

¹⁰⁹ Pelsaert, '*Jahangir's India*,' op. cit., pp. 82-83.

gift (*Dana*). It has been argued by the priests that, *Dana* is invalid if it is not followed by *Dakshina* (some money).¹¹⁰ So along with the daughter some property or wealth was given by the bride's father to the bridegroom at the time of marriage called '*Jautuka*' (Dowry). The custom of dowry seems to have prevalent in Orissa during the Mughal period, which is evident from the many contemporary literatures like Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata*.¹¹¹ Arjuna Das's *Kalpalata*,¹¹² Narasimha Sena's '*Parimala*'¹¹³ and Upendra Bhanja's *Lavanyavati*.¹¹⁴ The dowries included each and everything needed by the couple in their new home. Balarama Dasa has given a long list of such presents in his work *Dandi Ramayana*.¹¹⁵ In the case of the marriage of the princess various kinds of golden ornaments, precious stones, jewels, ivory, land or villages, *Sakhis* (female servants), elephants, horses, chariots, cows, clothes and other things were given as dowry.¹¹⁶ So, all Hindus were required to give some dowry during the time of their daughter's marriage, suited to their socio-economic status. It was also given and taken with mutual understanding of both the parties and never demanded in any harassing manner because we do not find any reference of bride burning and any kind of torture for dowry during the period under review.

So far dowry among the Muslim is concern, Dowry system does not exist in Islam but the concept of *Mehar* (bridal money) is practiced by the Muslims, which is mandatory to be paid by husband to his wife and only wife has the right to claim it. But during the period of our discussion we find reference of giving of household objects, clothes and jewels to bridegroom by the Muslim parents on the occasion of marriage of their daughters in Orissa, whereas in the case of marriage of princes, the bride groom receives estate and high position from his father-in-law like Shujauddin Mohammad.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁰ *Hindu Samskaras*, op. cit., p. 314.

¹¹¹ *Sarala Mahabharata*, Adiparva, op.cit., pp. 117, 122, 212; *Madhya parva*, op.cit., p. 151.

¹¹² Das, Arjuna, *Kalpalata*, op. cit., p. 68.

¹¹³ Sena, Narasima, '*Parimala*', ed. K.N. Mahapatra, Bhubaneswar, 1961, p. 48

¹¹⁴ Ananta Padmanabha, Patnaik, *Kavi Samrat Upendra Bhanja*, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, 1971, p. 135

¹¹⁵ *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit., p. 86.

¹¹⁶ *Sarala Mahabharat*, Adiparva, op. cit., p. 311.

¹¹⁷ Shujauddin was a inhabitant of Burhanpur of Khandesh. Who was working as petty officer during the time Aurangzeb but he became deputy Subahdar of Orissa after his marriage with Zinat-un-nishan, the daughter of Murshid Quli Khan in 1706, Cf. Seid Gholam Hossein, *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, ed. Munshi Nawal Kishor, Lucknow, 1886, Vol. II, pp. 469-470.

Purdah System:

The Purdah system was introduced by the Muslims in India. It was the system of female seclusion. We find references of Purdah in the Quran¹¹⁸, so, this system was quite common among the Arabs. Ameer Ali views that. “The system of female seclusion undoubtedly possesses many advantages in the social well-being of unsettled and uncultured communities. The prophet of Islam found it existing among the Persians and the Oriental communities, he perceived its advantages and recommended it to the women folk for the observation of privacy”.¹¹⁹

However, after the advent of the Muslims, the Purdah system was started in India.¹²⁰ As, strict veiling of women was a common practice among the Muslims in their native land, so great stress was also laid upon it in India. Even the liberal emperors like Akbar had issued a *farman* that ‘if a young woman was found running about street and bazaars of the town and while so doing did not veil herself or allow herself to be unveiled, she was to go the quarters of the prostitutes and takes up the profession’.¹²¹

De Laet says “The Mohammadan Women do not come out into public unless they are poor or immodest; they veil their heads and draw their hair forward in a knot from the back”.¹²² Carrier says that “The Mohammadan women do not appear in public, except the vulgar sort and the lend ones. They cover their heads but their hair hangs down behind in several tresses.”¹²³

So far the society of Orissa is concern, there was no system of Purdah prior to the Mughal that during the Bhaumakara period, there were as many as six queens viz., Tribhuvanamahadevi, PrithivMahadevi, Gaurimahadevi, Dandimahadevi, Vakulamahadevi, and Dharmamahadevi, who ruled over Orissa with full royal status.¹²⁴ Further, the profuse depiction of women as dancers, musicians and actress in seductive poses, as amorous couples, as warriors and as co-participant with the males

¹¹⁸ *Al-Quran*, Sura al Noor, Ch.No.24, Verse no.31

¹¹⁹ Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, op.cit. pp. 248-49.

¹²⁰ Habib, Mohammad, ‘*Indian Culture and Social life at the time of the Turkish Invasion*’, in *Journal of the Aligarh Historical Research Institute* (1941), pp. 109-110

¹²¹ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit. Vol.I, p.217

¹²² De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr., J. Hoyland and annotated., S.N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928, p. 80.

¹²³ Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Monsieur De Thevenot and Jammelli Careri*, op. cit., p. 24,

¹²⁴ Subudhi, Umakanta, *The Bhaumakaras of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1978, pp. 71-79; K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1981, pp. 82-85.

in observation of festivals are evident from the epigraphic, sculpture and literary sources of Orissa. Hence, there was free movement of women in the Orissa society in the medieval period.¹²⁵ But with the settlement of Muslims in Orissa the Purdha system also came into practice. Although initially, it was followed by the Muslim women only but with the passes of time due to the influence of Muslims, the system of Purdah in the form of *Ghoonghat* became popular in Orissa. So the Hindus of Orissa also practiced Purdah as a protective measure to save the honor of their women folk and to maintain the purity of their social order. It also became a sign of respect for the women of the upper class Hindu families¹²⁶ of the Mughal Orissa. But the women of lower class didn't observed Purdah rather they came out from family to work in public place to earn their livelihood.¹²⁷

Sati Pratha:

The self-immolation of the wife on the funeral pyre of the dead husband was called *Sati*. Whereas the burning of the wife with some belongings of her late husband in case he died away from his wife was called *Anugamana*.¹²⁸ It was one of the cruelest institutions prevailed in the society of medieval India. So the death of husband in the life of Hindu women was a great tragedy because widow remarriage was not allowed among Hindus. Hence the life of widow became full of frustration and shame so that they realized it is better to become sati. Abul Fazl gives five reasons for having Sati by the Hindu women.¹²⁹

De laet says "when her husband died the widow of her own free will, leaps upon his pyre and is burnt together with this corps".¹³⁰ Bernier described it in great details with particular reference to the part played by the Brahman priest.¹³¹ Pelsaert has also given a detail description of a girl who was going to perform Sati. (In one of case seen by him), the governor has proposed her to give five hundred rupee as allowance, if she will not commit Sati but the girl was firm on her decision.¹³² Emperor Jahangir also passed an order that 'no woman, who was the

¹²⁵ Rath, Sarala Mahabharatare Samajika Jeeban., op. cit., p. 119.

¹²⁶ 'The Empire of the Great Mogol, op.cit., p.246.

¹²⁷ Misra, Rekha, *Women in Mughal India(1526-17480)* Delhi, 1967, p.132.

¹²⁸ Raut, L.N. *Socio-economic life is medieval Orissa*, Calcutta, 1988, p. 87

¹²⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.150.

¹³⁰ De laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, op. cit., p.87.

¹³¹ F.Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire*, ed., W. Irvin, Oriental Reprint, New Delhi, 1983, pp.306-315.

¹³² Pelsaert Francisco, *Jahangir's India*, op.cit. p.79

mother of children should be thus made a sacrifice, however willing to die' to check it.¹³³

The literary sources of medieval Orissa gives reference of Sati. Sarala Das admired the women who become Sati and writes that the widow of Kausik Brahmin burnt herself in the funeral pyre of her husband.¹³⁴ Similarly Upendra Bhanja in the *Baidehisa Vilasa Kavya* refers to the self immolation of widows as meritorious deed.¹³⁵ Arjun Das in his *Kalpalata* opines that the heroine *Kalpalata* became Sati out of her own choice.¹³⁶ So, the custom of Sati was prevalent in Orissa during the period under review. According to Bernier, the Mughal governors of Orissa were using all their powers to suppress this barbarous custom.¹³⁷ The instances of widowhood also found in society of Orissa during the Mughal period that Rani Lalita Devi (wife of Ramchandra Dev-II, (1727 -1735) of Khurda went round the kingdom on horseback giving a clarion call to the people to rise against the Muslims after the death of her husband¹³⁸ and Rani Suka Devi of Banki also fought against Gopinath Deva of Khunda, who had killed her husband Trailokya Harichandan.¹³⁹

Prostitution:

The etymological meaning of prostitution is the offering of the body to indiscriminate lewdness for hire. Flexner views that 'any person is a prostitute who habitually or intermittently has sex relations more or less promiscuously for money or other mercenary consideration'.¹⁴⁰ According to Havelock 'a prostitute is a person who makes it a profession to gratify the lust of various persons of the opposite sex or of the same sex.'¹⁴¹

However prostitution is an old evil or corrupt institution known to all societies since the dawn of history. The prostitutes (public women) were known by different names like *Vesyas*, *Ganikas* in the medieval Indian society. There are references of prostitution in the contemporary sources of the Mughal period. As Badauni informs

¹³³ Jahangir, *Memoirs of the Emperor Jahangir*, trs., Major David Price, Delhi, 1904, p. 48

¹³⁴ Sarala Mahabharata, Banaparva, op. cit., p. 186.

¹³⁵ Bhanja Upendra, *Baidehisa Vilasa*, 45th chhanda, in *Kavi Samrat Upendra Bhanja*, op.cit., 1971, p.138

¹³⁶ Das Arjuna, *Kalpalata*, op. cit, p. 91

¹³⁷ Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, op. cit., p.306.

¹³⁸ Chakradhara, Mahapatra, 'Utkal Itihasa Eka Agyanta Adhyaya' (Oriya), Cuttack, 1969, p.197.

¹³⁹ N. Ratha, *Banki Itihasa* (Oriya), Banki, 1935, pp. 24-25

¹⁴⁰ Flexner. A, *Prostitution in Europe*, New York, (1920), p.11

¹⁴¹ Ellis, Havelock, *Psychology of Sex*, New York, 1954, chapter VI, p.31

that a particular area was set apart for prostitute¹⁴² outside the city called as *Shaitanpura*¹⁴³ and Akbar was very much against this practice and taken praiseworthy steps to check prostitution in northern Indian.

There are references of prostitution in the society of Orissa during the Mughal period. Sarala Das has mentioned about this institution while describing the story of Mudgal Panda (Brahmin) and the prostitute Hironyakestri.¹⁴⁴ Similarly in the *Kavya Parimala*, Narasimha Sena depicts the performance of dance by the *Vesyas* (prostitutes) during the marriage ceremony of Parimala.¹⁴⁵ Bernier also vividly describes about practice of prostitution in Orissa during the Mughal period.¹⁴⁶ The port towns of Mughal Orissa viz. Balasore, Pipli and Hariharpur came under the influence of the Europeans like Portuguese, Dutch, French and English, who established their commercial settlement there. So, these centers fell under all the evil influences of the cosmopolitan society of Europe. Thus the institution of prostitution took new dimension and become a large scale business in Orissa during the period under discussion. Thevenot, who visited Orissa in the seventeenth century writes. "The women in Orissa themselves are bold and lascivious and use all arts imaginable to corrupt and debauch young men and especially strangers, whom they easily trap because they are handsome and wear good cloths"¹⁴⁷. But this evil practice was mainly concentrated in towns¹⁴⁸ and the people of such activities were driven out from the villages.

¹⁴² Muntakhabu't-Twarikh, op.cit., Vol.II, p.302.

¹⁴³ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., op.cit., Vol.I, p.201.

¹⁴⁴ Sarala Mahabharata, Banaparva, op.cit., p.136, See also. *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., P.64.

¹⁴⁵ Sena, Narsimha, *Parimala*, op.cit. pp.53-59,

¹⁴⁶ Bernier. *Travels in the Mughal Empire (1656-68)*, op. cit., p. 306.

¹⁴⁷ Thevenot, Monsieur De, *Indian Travels of Monsieur De Thevenot and Jammelli Careri*, part- III, op.cit., p. 68

¹⁴⁸ Rout. L.N., *Socio-Economic life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., p.65.

Chapter-III

Customs and Amusements

All the Human societies of the world are having their own customs, manners, dress, etiquettes and amusement. In India social life and cultural traits vary from one place to another. As elsewhere, the people of Orissa are also having their own distinguished social life. There are many contemporary literatures, epigraphic records, Persian chronicles and travelogues which provide us enough information regarding the social habits like-food, drinks, dress, ornaments, cosmetics, perfumes and recreations of the people of Orissa during the medieval period. The comprehensive and comparative analysis of all facets of Orissan society shows the introduction of Muslim cultural traits in Orissa after its conquest by Afghans in 1568 A.D. later by the Mughals in 1592.A.D. Since then Orissa remained under the Mughals upto 1751.A.D. During this period Muslim migration into Orissa was a continuous process through which a new culture (Islamic culture) entered into the culture of Orissa and influenced every aspect of its society. It has also left an indelible mark on the Orissa culture known as Muslim impacts.

There are ample references to the nature and social life of the people of Orissa in the works of the contemporary poets like *Oriya Mahabharata* of Sarala Das, *Jagamohan Ramayana* of Balaram Das, *Koti Brahamanda Sundari*, *Lavanyabati*, *Vaidehisa Vilasa* of Upendra Bhanja and others. The accounts of foreign travelers who visited Orissa and its adjoining states during this period also throw some lights on the life style of the people of Orissa. That the Chinese travelers Yuan Chwang, who visited Orissa in the seventh century has describes the nature of the people of *Odra*, *kangoda*, *kalinga* and *kosala*. About the people of *Odra* (Orissa) he said that ‘the climate was hot, the people were violent and tall, their complexion was dark and speech and manners different from the people of mid-India’¹. Durate Barbosa the Portuguese travelers who visited Vijaynagar Empire from 1510 to 1515.A.D gives some stray references about the people of Orissa. He writes, “the

¹ Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629-645 A.D.*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and S. W. Bushell, London, 1905.Reprint, New Delhi, 1961, Vol.II, p.193.f.n.

people very seldom are at peace and there are but few moors and they are good fighting men'.² Nuniz also describes about the Oriyas that, "the population there is of light coloured and the men are of good physique."³ King Nala in his *Visaladeva raso* has referred to the people of Orissa. He states that 'Purbiyas(Oriyas) of the eastern country take betel, bedeck their bodies with flowers and eat rice. They are very miserly gathering the particles of rice and they are too clever'.⁴

Food and Drinks:

The Contemporary literatures, epigraphic records and travelogues give a vivid description of variety of edible articles of Orissa during the period under review. That the agricultural products of Orissa governed the food habits of its people. Rice (*Arna*) was the staple food of the people of Orissa. Abul Fazl states that, 'the staple cultivation of the province is rice'.⁵ Alexander Hamilton, who visited Orissa in the end of the 17th century writes, 'the people of Orissa were mostly rice eaters'.⁶ The foreign traveler like William Bruton, Thomas Bowery, Tieffenthaler and Andrew Stirling also refer about the abundance of rice⁷ in Orissa in their accounts. Rice of eight different varieties⁸ was prepared in Orissa but the *Saliarna* and *Supakwa arna* rice were very popular in the then society. During the Mughal period a unique habit of taking rice is found in Orissa that rice was cooked and steeped in cold water and kept aside to be taken in the next day⁹ which was known as *Pakhala* in local language.¹⁰ Other dishes of rice like *mudhi* (parched grain) and *chuda* (beaten rice)¹¹ were also taken by the people in the Mughal Orissa. Besides rice, wheat and barley were also consumed by

² Barbosa,Durate. 'The Book Of Duarte Barbosa', ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol-II, Hakluyt Society, London,1921,Vol.II, in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, July,1953, No.2, Appendix-III, pp.17-22.

³ Nuniz, Fernao. "Chronicle Of Fernao Nuniz", trs., R . Sewell in 'A Forgotten Empire', New Delhi, 1962, p. 232.

⁴ Qanungo, R.K, 'Historical Essays, Agra, 1968, p.98.

⁵ Abul Fazl, 'Ain-i- Akbari', op. cit., Vol.II, p.51.

⁶ Alexander, Hamilton, 'A New Account Of the East Indies being Observations and remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton', ed. W. Foster, London, 1930,Vol.I, p.217.

⁷ William Bruton, 'Account Of Cuttack and Puri', Cf. O.H.R.J, Vol-X, No.3, 1961, pp. 34,48; Bowery Thomas 'A Geographical Account Of Countries Round The Bay Of Bengal' ed. Lt. Col. Sir Richard, London,1905. pp.28,97; 'Tieffenthaler's Account Of Orissa', Cf. O.H.R.J., Vol-II, No-2(1953),p.22.; Sterling described that Rice is the great article of produce and consequently of food throughout Orissa Proper, Cf. *An Account(Geographical, Statistical and Historical) Of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, op.cit., p.6.

⁸ Sahoo, K.C. 'Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa', op.cit., p.65.

⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.II, p. 51. See also Rai Sujan, *Khulasat -ut-Tawarikh*,trs., Sarkar, Jadunath in 'The India Of Aurangzeb, Calcutta, 1901, p.47.

¹⁰ Das Arjun, *Kalpalata*,op.cit., p.30.

¹¹ Das Achyutananda, 'Kaivarta Gita', Cuttack, p.21.

the Oriya people during this period.¹² Bruton and Stirling also give references of the production of wheat and barley in Orissa during the Mughal period.¹³

Besides these, *Dal* prepared from pulses of *Mung*, *Biri*, *Masur*, *Bhut*, *Kulthi*¹⁴ etc. was also taken by the people of Orissa. According to Sarala Dasa¹⁵ *arhara* was also produced and eaten by Oriyas. Various kinds of vegetables and egg- plants were also grown in Orissa.¹⁶ The main vegetables taken by the Oriyas during the Mughal period were *alu* (potato), *cocar* (pumpkin), *kakudi* (cucumber), *Baigana* (brinjal), *kachu* (Arum Esculentum), *mula* (Raphanus Sativus), *Saggo* (Green leaves) and *Dhannya* (coriandrum).¹⁷ Among these Brinjal was the most popular one.¹⁸

In the Mughal Orissa, people mostly took their meals thrice a day i.e. Breakfast, lunch and dinner. Their large meal consists of rice, *Dal*, *Bhaja* (fried vegetables), *Saga* (fried green leaves), *Ambila* (sour dish) and *Kanji*¹⁹. They also ate some special dishes viz., like *Kheri*,²⁰ *Khichiri*,²¹ *Mohura* and *Sakara* on the festive days. Although cow was very common domestic animals of Orissa, so milk was one of the principle items of their diet and taken in the form of *payasa*²² and other item prepared from it like- curd, butter, cheese and ghe were also taken by the people of Orissa during the Mughal period.

Besides the daily meals, the cakes and sweets were also very popular among the people of Orissa during this period. That, they ate various types of sweet dishes viz., *Arisa*, *amrutarasavali*, *chenapuri*, *chhenaladu*, *gaja*, *kora*, *malapua*, *panasakhasa*, *phena*, *rasagola*, *sarapuli*, *manda*,²³ *Khandasakara*²⁴ etc. Among these

¹² Nagari plate Inscription of Anangabhimha Deva-III, refers to the production of barley and wheat, Cf. *El.XXVIII*, pp. 235-258.

¹³ 'Account Of Cuttack and Puri' op. cit., p.48; Sterling, 'An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) Of Orissa Proper or Cuttack', op. cit., p.6.

¹⁴ 'An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) Of Orissa Proper or Cuttack', op.cit., p.8.

¹⁵ In the Sabha parva, it is mentioned that king Visma supplied arhara to Bhima for his meals, Cf. Das Sarala, *Mahabharata*, (sabha parva), ed., A.B. Mohanty, Orissa Sahitya Academy, Cuttack, p.58.

¹⁶ *Ain-i- Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.51.

¹⁷ 'An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) Of Orissa Proper or Cuttack', op.cit., p.8. See also, Rao Ratnagiri- 'Cultural Advancement of Orissa Under The Gangas of Kalinga', Calcutta, 1994, p. 84.

¹⁸ Rath, 'Sarala Mahabharatera Samajika Jeeban', op. cit., p.274.

¹⁹ Kanji is melted vinegar like liquid prepared out of certain vegetables and the preserved cold rice and water.

²⁰ Kheri or khiri was prepared out of rice cooked with milk, sugar, cardamom, clove and saffron.

²¹ Khichiri is prepared by rice, mung, ghi, and other spices, Cf. *Ain-i- Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.35.

²² *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol-VI, pp. 833,731; Vol-V, p. 1204.

²³ Das, Balarama, 'Jagamohan Ramayana', Cf. Surya Narayan Das, *Odiya Sahitya itihasa*, Vol-I, Cuttack, 1968, p. 555.

Soma ladu and *Boka ladu* were very popular.²⁵ So far cake is concern different types of cakes were prepared and taken by the people of Orissa i.e. *Arisa*, *Puri*,²⁶ *Kakara* and *Induri*.²⁷ These Cakes were prepared out of black gram, split pulse²⁸ and *karpurakanti* rice.²⁹

The people of Orissa also consumed some non- vegetarian foods during the period under review. They were eating meat of different animals and birds like- goat, sheep, deer, cocks, hens, peacocks, etc.³⁰ After the Muslim settlement, beef was also taken by the Muslims in Orissa. There were also professional hunters, who sold meat in the market.³¹ Fish was another favorite non- vegetarian diet of the people of Orissa since early medieval period. According to Thomas Bowery, some people maintained their livelihood by adopting the profession of fishing in Orissa.³² In the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, we find references of eating of fish profusely by the people of Orissa during the Mughal period.³³

After meals, munching of betel nut and pan (betel leaf)³⁴ was the general habits³⁵ of the people of Orissa. The chewing of pan (betel leaf)³⁶ was quite popular in Orissa during the period under discussion. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Chahar Gulshan* and *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, we find mentions of betel leaves of various kinds were

²⁴ 'Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa', op. cit., p. 65.

²⁵ Das, Banamali, *Chata Echchavati*, ed. K.N. Mahapatra, Bhubaneswar, 1961, p.5.

²⁶ Description of sweet cakes are found in inscriptions on the 44th pillar of the Veranda round the central shrine of the Lokhnath temple, Simhachalam, Cf. Tripathy, K. B.- 'The Evolution Of Oriya Language and Script', Cuttack, 1988, p.256.

²⁷ Induri referenced in the inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kapileswara on the round in the mandapa in front of the Alvara shrine, Simhachalam, Cf. 'The Evolution Of Oriya Language and Script', op. cit. p. 261.

²⁸ Ibid., p.233.

²⁹ Ibid., p.256.

³⁰ Sah, A.P, *Aspects of Life In Medieval Orissa*, Varanasi, 1976, p.141.

³¹ Dasa, Sarala, *Mahabharata*, Svargarohana, op.cit., p.9.

³² Bowery Thomas, 'A Geographical Account Of Countries Round The Bay of Bengal'(1669-1679), ed., Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Hakluyt Society, London, 1934, p.199.

³³ *Ain-i- Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p. 51; Rai Sujan, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, op.cit., p.47.

³⁴ Mir Khusraw of Dihli in one of his verses praise eating pan. He said 'it is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in hindustan', He again said the eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums and makes the hungry satisfied, Cf. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p. 52.

³⁵ Ibid.,

³⁶ Mir Khusraw of Dihli in one of his verses praise eating pan. He said 'it is an excellent fruit like the flower of a garden, the finest fruit in hindustan', He again said the eating of the leaf renders the breath agreeable and repasts odorous. It strengthens the gums and makes the hungry satisfied, Cf. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p. 52.

available in Orissa.³⁷ Even offering of pan³⁸ in the festival assemblies and gatherings was a sort of social courtesy in the Mughal Orissa. Tavernier³⁹ informs that most of the people especially Hindu and Muslim ladies were in habit of chewing betel leaves throughout the days to colour their lips during the Mughal period.

When the Muslims settled in Orissa, a little change occurred in the food habit of the people of Orissa because the Muslims introduced various types of new food items and dishes both vegetarian and non vegetarian into the food habits of the people of Orissa. They introduced, *Zarda palao*,⁴⁰ *Biryani*,⁴¹ *Ukma*, *Khichri*,⁴² *Kheer*, *Chapati*,⁴³ *roti*,⁴⁴ *Samosa* etc, it also goes to their credit for introducing most of the spices (*masala*) like. *Jafran*, *Lung*, *Dal-chini*, *Kalonji* and *Yelachi* in Orissa. They also introduced some non-vegetarian dishes viz., *Qima palao*⁴⁵, *Qima shurba*, *Yakhni palao*⁴⁶, *Kabab* and *Halim*⁴⁷ in this province. In the sphere of vegetables, they brought *Salgam* (Turnip), *Gajar* (carrot), *Khira* (cucumber) and *Sakarkand* (sweet potato) to Orissa. Many new sweet dishes i.e. *Jalebi*, *Balusahi*, *Halwa*, *Khasta*, *Misri* and *Murabba* were introduced in Orissa by the Muslims.

Fruits:

According to Abul Fazl, the climate of Orissa was extremely healthy,⁴⁸ so variety of fruits were grown in different parts of Orissa. Abul Fazl states that, fruits and flowers were grown plenty in Orissa.⁴⁹ The account of foreign travelers gives us a list of fruits which seems to have consumed by the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. Thomas Bowery refers to the abundance of mangoes and coconuts in

³⁷ Ibid., Vol.II, p.52; Rai Chatar Man, *Chahar Gulsan* and Rai Sujan, *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, Cf. Sarkar, Jadunath, 'The India of Aurangzeb', pp. LVIII, op.cit., P.47.

³⁸ Pan was prepared by putting betel nut, katha and some lime paste on betel leaf, Cf. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol-I, op.cit., p.53.

³⁹ Tavernier, *Travels In India*, trs., V. Ball, London, 1889, Vol.I, p. 294.

⁴⁰ Abul Fazl mention it as Zard birinj which is prepared by rice, sugarcandy, ghi, raisins, (kismis) pista, (almond), ginger, saffron and misqals of cinnamon, Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol-I, p.35.

⁴¹ It was prepared by meat of sheep, ghi, saffron, cloves, peper, and cuminseed etc. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.37.

⁴² Khichri was prepared by rice, mungdal, ghi, and spices. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I p.35.

⁴³ Ibid., p.36.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.38.

⁴⁵ Qima palao was prepared by rice, small pieces of meat, ghi, peeled gram, onions, ginger, pepper, cardamoms and clove. Cf., *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p.36.

⁴⁶ Yakhni palao was prepared by rice, meat, onion, salt. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.37.

⁴⁷ Halim was prepared by meat, wheat, gram, spices, saffron, ghi, turnip, carrot, spinach fennels. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.37.

⁴⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.51.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.51.

Orissa.⁵⁰ Other fruits eaten by the people of Orissa were *kadali* (banana), *naranga* (orange), *Jambila* (other kind of orange), *Kendu* (Sanstinduk, hu-kendu), *kapita* (sans kapita) and papaya.⁵¹ Fruits like *Angur* (grapes)⁵², *Ananas*⁵³ (pine-apple), *Bedana* (pomegranate), *Seb* (apple), *Naspati* (pear), *Kharbuja* (muskmelon) and *Sakarakanda* (sweet potato) etc were introduced by the Muslims in the food habits of the people of Orissa. They also brought some dried fruits viz., *Khajur*, *Kismis*, *Monacca*, *Khorma* and *Pista* to Orissa.

Drinks :

The people of Orissa were also habitual of various types of drinks, besides water they took Beverages (prepared from cheese, ripe banana, and a mixture of curd, milk and sugar). Drinking of green coconut water was also very popular in this region. There are references of drinking of *pana*⁵⁴ (sweet drink) by the people of Orissa in the Mughal period. Despite these, drinking of wines were also prevalent in the Orissan society during the period of our discussion. It is evident from the sculptures of Orissan temples which vividly depicted the cups or goblets for drinking wine. We also got the term of *sura* and *madira* used for drinking wine in the contemporary Oriya literatures. During the Mughal period *boule punch*⁵⁵ was very popular drink among the people of Orissa and the European traders of Orissa. It seems that drinks were usually taken on the occasion of festivals, sacrifices, convivial parties and in the company of friends. Although some Mughal emperors had strictly forbidden the selling and drinking of wine because of its injurious affects on human health.⁵⁶ That according to Abul Fazl, Although wine was allowed during the reign of Akbar, if used for strengthening the body on the recommendation of physician but strict punishment was inflicted on drunkards.⁵⁷ Similarly, during the reign of Shahjahan, prohibition on selling and drinking of wine was enforced more strictly.⁵⁸ In spite of all these

⁵⁰ Bowery Thomas, *A Geographical Account Of Countries Round The Bay of Bengal* (1669-1679), op.cit., p.152.

⁵¹ 'Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa', op.cit., pp. 65-66.

⁵² *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.43-44.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp.49-50.

⁵⁴ *South Indian Inscription*, Vol-VI, No.1152.

⁵⁵ Boule ponges was a drink composed of arac a spirit distilled from molasses, mixed with lemon juice, water and nut-meg; it was pleasant enough to taste but most hurtful to body and health, Cf. Bernier, 'Travels in Mogul Empire' (A.D.1656-1668), Oxford, 1914, p. 441.

⁵⁶ Khan Mutamad, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, trs., Elliot and Dowson, in 'History of India As Told by Its Own Historians', op.cit., Vol-VI, p. 499.

⁵⁷ Abul, Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol-I, pp.108-10.

⁵⁸ Manucci, N., 'Storia do mogor', trs., W. Irvine, London, 1907, Vol.I, p. 139.

regulation, drinking of wine was prevalent during the Mughal period. Whenever the Muslims settled in Orissa they added some new drinks in the drinking habits of the people of Orissa. The Muslims introduced the drinking item like *Sarbat*,⁵⁹ *Sira* and *Sirka*⁶⁰ in Orissa.

Though the food items, dishes and drinks were introduced by the Muslims eaten initially only by the Muslims of Orissa, but with passes of time, these became part and parcel of the food habits of the other populace of Orissa with certain restrictions which is evident in the contemporary literatures. We also sight the use of Mughal foods and drinks by the populace of Orissa now, some as their daily food item and other in the special occasions.

Dress and Ornaments:

The human beings had developed the sense of covering their body while they feel its necessity to save themselves from the harms of the environment. Initially, they used animal skins, feather of birds and leaves for covering them. Subsequently, the wearing of clothes became their fashion, they also started decking their body with ornaments but the designs of clothes, ornaments and the manner of wearing have changed according to the needs and fashion of time.

Al-Beruni, who came to India with Mahmud of Ghazni has expressed his opinion regarding the dress of the Indians, According to him, ‘they (Indians) used turbans for trousers but those who like much dress wear trousers and Kurtas and head dress’.⁶¹ Similarly, Nicolo De Conti, a Venetian traveler remarks on the dress and ornaments of the Indians. He said that “The style of dress is different in different region. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk and of these they made their garments. All most all, both men and women wear aline cloth round the body so as to the knees and over this garment of linen or silk, which with the men descend to just below the knees and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat and for the same reason they only wear sandals with purple and golden ties as we see in ancient society’.⁶² He again said- “in some places the women have shoes made of thin leather ornamented with gold and

⁵⁹ Sarbat was solution of Sugar and water, Some time lemon juice added to it.

⁶⁰ Sirka was vinegar prepared from different vegetables.

⁶¹ Al- Beruni, ‘*Kitab al Hind*’, trs., E.C. Sachau, London,1888,Reprint,Delhi,1964,Vol.I, p. 180.

⁶² Major Conti, ‘*India In The 15th Century*’. ed. R.H. Major, London,1911,pp. 22-23.

silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands, and also around their necks and legs of weight of three pounds and studded with gems⁶³.”

The contemporary Muslim chroniclers have depicted a vivid picture of the dress and ornaments wore by the Muslims during the Mughal period. According to them, the Muslims wore simple dress to cover their body called *Libas*, which consists *Qamiz* (shirt) and *pyjama* (trousers), whereas the affluent Muslims wore gorgeous attires viz. *Shalwars*, *Qaba*⁶⁴ (a long coat reaching down to the knees) and *furgul* (fur coats) as an upper garment. The people of royal house wore robes embroidered with Silver and gold. Abul fazl has describes about twelve types of coats⁶⁵ worn by the people during the Mughal period and the most important of them were *Shah ajidah*⁶⁶ (the royal stitch coat), *Takauchiya*⁶⁷ and *peshwaz*.⁶⁸ According to Abdul Hamid Lahori the people used *Lungis* in private.⁶⁹ Whereas the common dresses for the Muslim women during this period was consisted of *Shalwar*, *izar*, *Maqna*⁷⁰ (worn over the head reaching to the ground), *Kesghan* (a hair ribbon), *Dupattas*⁷¹ and *burqa*.⁷² The *Salwars*, *Qamiz* and *Pyjama* were common among both the males and females.⁷³

Similarly, the peoples of Orissa were also very fond of dresses and ornaments during this period. Their dresses were very simple, men generally wore ‘*dhoti*’ (tied firmly round the waist and reaching down their knees) as under garment and *chadar* (scarf) as upper-garments. They also used scarf either thrown over the shoulders or tied round the waist as kamarband. Poet *Sarala Dasa*⁷⁴ in his work referred the *dhoti* and *gamucha* (scarf) as the dress of the male folks of Orissa and the rich people appeared to have used the jeweled girdle along with dhوتي. The Brahman style of

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

⁶⁴ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.66.

⁶⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.66-67.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p.95.

⁶⁷ A coat with round skirt to be tied on the right side, open in front Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.66.

⁶⁸ Ibid., it is a open coat in front.

⁶⁹ Lahori, Abdul Hamid, *Badshahnamah*, ed. Kabiruddin Ahmad and Abdur Rahim., Bib.Ind., Calcutta, 1872, Vol.II, P.273.

⁷⁰ Maqna was worn over the head reaching to the ground. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.67.

⁷¹ Ibid.,

⁷² Ibid.,

⁷³ A. Rashid, *Society and Culture in Medieval India*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 52-53.

⁷⁴ Sarala Das, *Sarala Mahabharata*, Madhya parva, op.cit., p.21.

wearing a dhoti was known as *Trikanhha*, they also used *Uttariya* (scarf).⁷⁵ Sarala Das also referenced about the different qualities of clothes used by the people of Orissa like *Patta vastra* (tussar clothes), *Jhina vastra*, (silk clothes) and *Dosadakokila vastra*⁷⁶ etc in his works. The dress of women was also consisted of two garments, one for upper part and another for lower. The lower garment they tied round the waist. It had folds in front which were sometime gathered, passed between the legs and tucked in behind,⁷⁷ the upper part of their body sometimes was covered by a long narrow scarf. Abul Fazl states that, the women of Orissa covered only the lower part of the body and many make themselves covering of leaves of trees.⁷⁸ There are references of wearing of *chauli* (used to cover the upper part of body and a portion of the arms by the women)⁷⁹ and *Saree*⁸⁰ (which they wrapped round the waist and thrown over the head) by the women of Orissa during the period under review. The ladies of affluent family used a piece of cloth for covering the breast along with the Saree called *Kanchala* (bodice).⁸¹ They also used linen clothes⁸². However, the colour of the saree of widows was usually white.⁸³ The *Yogi* (ascetics) of the period wore a single piece of clothes known as *Kaupina*,⁸⁴ which was mostly of red colour but Sri Chaitanya wore the saffron colour kaupina⁸⁵ while staying in Orissa. The evidence of use of another kind of clothes in Orissa known as *Pundarika gopa* got mentioned in the inscription.⁸⁶ Chapkan was the dress of kings, prince and their other dignitaries.⁸⁷ They also wore silk garments ornamented with embroidery.

However, when the Muslims came to Orissa, they introduced their dresses like- *Qamis*, *Jama*, *Pyjama*, *Shalwar* (trouser), *Lungi* (a coloured check as dhoti worn

⁷⁵ Sarala Mahabharata, Adiparva, part –II, op.cit, p.68.

⁷⁶ Das, Sarala, 'Mahabharata', op.cit., pp.68-69.

⁷⁷ Mitra, R.L., 'Antiquities of Orissa,' Cuttack, 1880, Vol.I, p.80; See also 'The Bhaumakara and their times', Delhi, 1978, p.170.

⁷⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.51-52; See also Bruton's 'Account of Cuttack and Puri'. In which he described that during the Mughal period some tribal people of Orissa clothed themselves in beast's skins and birds feathers, Cf. *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-X, No. 3, (1961), p. 49.

⁷⁹ Sah. A.P, *Aspects of Life In Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., pp. 142-143.

⁸⁰ Altekar states that the women of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa used 'Vikachcha' a certain fashion of wearing Saree which prevailed throughout the ancient and the medieval periods, Cf. A.S. Altekar, 'Position Of Women In Hindu Civilization', Varanasi, 1972, p. 189.

⁸¹ P. Mukherjee, 'The Gajapati Kings of Orissa', Cuttack, 1961, p.147.

⁸² Das Sarala, 'Mahabharata', Adiparva, op.cit., p. 251.

⁸³ Altekar, 'Position Of Women In Hindu Civilization', op.cit., p.67.

⁸⁴ *Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit, p.67.

⁸⁵ Das Krishna, *Chaitanya Charitamrita* (Bengali), Madhya Lila, Calcutta, 1957, Vol.III, Text-18.

⁸⁶ *Jagannath Temple Inscription of Kapilendra Deva*, Cf. *PIHC*, XIX, 1956 pp.251-53,

⁸⁷ *Antiquities of Orissa*, op.cit., p.126.

by Muslims), Rumal (Handkerchief), *Sal* (shawl),⁸⁸ *Saya* (petti-coat), *Balish* or *Takiya* (pillow) etc. into Orissan society and influenced the dressing style of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. As a result of the Muslim impact the people of Orissa also used the dress like *lungi*, *kurta*, *qaba jama*, *pyjama*, *sal*, *saya*, and *takiya* etc. which are evident from the vocabulary of the contemporary Oriya literatures that the term denoting the Muslim garments are found in the works of Upendra Bhanja, Brajanath Badajena, Krishna Sinha, Abhimanyu Samanta Singhara and Baladev Rath and others. Even the costumes of the garjat rajas and the Hindu Zamindars of Orissa were also changed that during the Mughal period they dressed themselves in the line of Mughal subedar, princes, and emperor. The actors and actress of the local drama known as *Mughal Tamasha* also wore dresses typical of the Mughal style.⁸⁹

Ornaments:

The Ornaments were a traditional form of wealth and the People used them along with dresses since the time immemorial to enhance their physical beauty. The design and shapes of ornaments also changed time to time. So, the people of all classes and status of Indian society were in habit of adornment of ornaments but it is a matter of conjecture that, the rich satisfied their craving by wearing ornaments made of gold, silver, pearls, and gems whereas the poor using ornaments made of bronze, Copper and tin. The Tribal also adorn the ornaments made of bones and nails of the wild animals etc. However, the people of all the class of societies were in habit of adornment of ornament to enhance their beauty. Abul Fazl gives a list of ornaments adorn by the people during the Mughal period.⁹⁰ As elsewhere, the people of Mughal Orissa (both male and females) were very fond of ornaments and adorn varieties of ornaments on different parts of their body. The contemporary literary sources like *Sarala Mahabharata* of Sarala Dasa, *Jagamohan Ramayana* of Balaram Das and *Labanyavati*, *Koti Brahmanda Sundari*, *Vaideshisa Vilasa* of Upendra Bhanja and others has described about the ornaments adorn by the people of Orissa during the

⁸⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.67.

⁸⁹ S. Mohapatra, '*Mughal Tamasha, A unique Specimen of folk Drama Prevalent at Bhadrak*', Subas Pani, ed. *Glimpse of History and Culture of Balesore*, Orissa Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar, 1988. p.291.

⁹⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.144-146; See also Plate No. 1-2 in Illustration.

Medieval period. The Inscriptions of the Gajapati period also gives a list of ornaments gifted by Kapilendradev to Lord Jagannath.⁹¹

The people of Mughal Orissa generally wore ornaments on their head, ears, nose, neck, hands, waist and feet. Some of them were same for both the sexes. So far head is concerned, the men of noble class, prince and king of Orissa adorn crown known as *mukuta*.⁹² It was of four types and named after their shapes and designs.⁹³ The women of Orissa adorned variety of ornaments on their forehead and hairs viz., *Kiapatri*⁹⁴ (resembling a small petals of the screw pin plant), *Bakra Deunari*⁹⁵ (a bow shaped ornament), *Chandra- jhumpi*⁹⁶ (a kind of crescent shaped ornament with pendants), *Jharakathi*⁹⁷ (a kind of hair pin with bunch of pendant chains) and *Panapatri*⁹⁸ (a betel shaped ornament with ahook) on their chignon or *Juda*. They also used *mathajali*,⁹⁹ *Muktajali*¹⁰⁰ to keep their hair knot tight and in shape. They also adorn *Mathamani*,¹⁰¹ *Jhillimilika*¹⁰² and *Rahurekha*¹⁰³ on their forehead to enhance the beauty of the forehead. When the Muslims settled in Orissa, they introduced some new items of ornaments for head and forehead like. *Sis-phula*, *Mang Sekra*, *Kot-biladar*, *Binduli*¹⁰⁴ and *Mangtikka* (it is usually of crescent and star shaped ornament). These also came in use by the people of Orissa.

So far the nose is concerned, Sarala Das refers the name of some ornaments adorn in nose by the people of Orissa during the medieval period that were *gajamoti* and *ratnaphula*,¹⁰⁵ these were also named as *nakachana*, *basani*, *besar* and

⁹¹ The Inscription of the Jagannatha temple are found on the left side of Jayavijaya doorway of Kapilendra's 41 anka registered the Gajapati donation of gold ornaments to lord Jagannatha.

⁹² Sarala Dasa, '*Mahabharata*', Madhya parva, op.cit., p.258.

⁹³ *Banka chulia* (tilted plume) for lord Krishna, *Topi-kiriti*, was usually worn by kings and princes. The *Ambakari* (tender mango) was meant for the queen and other royal ladies. The *Panapati* (betel leaf) was meant for goddess like Kali, Bhairavi, etc. Cf. Das. J.P, '*Puri Paintings*, Cuttack, 1982, p.109.

⁹⁴ Bhanja, Upendra, '*Labanyavati*', edn. Kabi Samrat Upendra Bhanja Granthabali, Cuttack, 1952, Ch-IV, Verse-10.

⁹⁵ Ibid., Verse-13.

⁹⁶ Ibid., Verse-12.

⁹⁷ Bhanja, Upendra, '*Vaidehisa Vilasa*', ed. Prafulla Kumar Dash, Cuttack-2, 1986, Ch-X, Verse-6.

⁹⁸ Bhanja Upendra, *Koti Brahmanda Sundari*, edn. Kabi Samrat Upendra Bhanja Granthabali, Cuttack, 1989, Ch-XXXIV, Verse-10.

⁹⁹ *Vaidehisa Vilasa*, op. cit., Ch-X, Verse-6; Ch-XI, Verse-12.

¹⁰⁰ Das, Balarama, '*Jagamohan Ramayana*', Uttara parva, op.cit., p.83.

¹⁰¹ *Vaidehisa Vilasa*, op.cit., Verse-5; See also Das ,S.N, '*Odiya Sahityara Itihasa*', Vol-II, Cuttack, 1965, p.479.

¹⁰² *Labanyavati*, Ch-IV, op.cit., Verse-15.

¹⁰³ *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit., p.93.

¹⁰⁴ *Ain-i-Akbar*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 144

¹⁰⁵ *Sarala Mahabharata*, Adiparva, op.cit., p.251.

triphula.¹⁰⁶ Besides these, the people of Orissa also adorn some ornaments in the middle of their nostril known as *Dandi*, *Nolak* and *Besar*.¹⁰⁷ It seems that the rings for nose to have come into use in the society of Orissa as a result of Muslim settlement in Orissa¹⁰⁸ because we do not find any reference of its use before the fifteenth century. The Muslims also introduced different types of nose rings i.e. *Besar*, *Nath* and *Laung*¹⁰⁹ in Orissa.

The ornaments of different kind were worn in ears by the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. The Ornaments for ears were divided into three sections like ornaments for upper part, middle and lower part. The ornaments worn on the top of the ear was called *malli-kadhi*,¹¹⁰ *phasi*¹¹¹ and *bentula*¹¹² whereas in the middle of ear *Bindiya*¹¹³ (a type of ear ring) was worn. A number of rings viz. *Tadaki*, *Kapa* (flat shaped), *Karnaphula*¹¹⁴ (ear rings in the shape of flower) and *Jhallika*¹¹⁵ were adorned in the lower part of the ear. *Kundala*¹¹⁶ and *Noli* was other popular ear ring of the time. The *kundala* and *noli* were only ornaments which were worn by both the sexes. The ear ornaments like *Karnaphool*, *Durbachh*, *Pipal patti*, *Bali*, *Champakali*¹¹⁷ and *Jhumka* were introduced in Orissa by the Muslims.

The people of Mughal Orissa adorned their neck by numerous ornaments known as *Hara* and *Mala*. The necklaces used by both the sexes were called *Muktahara*¹¹⁸ and *Ratnamali*.¹¹⁹ The Oriya poet Balaram Das¹²⁰ has referred to the necklaces of various kinds worn by the people of Orissa during the medieval period viz. *Saptasarimoti*,¹²¹ *Dosari Sunasuta*,¹²² *Chapasari mala*,¹²³ *Nilamani hara*,¹²⁴

¹⁰⁶ Das, Balarama, 'Jagamohan Ramayana', *uttara parva*, op.cit., pp. 83,117.

¹⁰⁷ *Besar* is a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by gold wire. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1881, Vol.III, p.145

¹⁰⁸ Das,J,P, 'Puri Paintings', op.cit., p. 110; See also Altekar, 'Position Of Women In Hindu Civilization', op.cit, p.30.

¹⁰⁹ *Laung*, an ornament for the nose in the shape of a clove. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.145.

¹¹⁰ *Labanyavati*, Ch-IV, op.cit., Verse-19; Ch-XV, Verse 9.

¹¹¹ *Koti Brahmanda Sundari*, Ch.XII, op.cit., Verse-12,

¹¹² *Jagamohan Ramayana*, op.cit., *uttara*, p.117.

¹¹³ *Vaidehisa Vilasa*, Ch-X, op.cit., Verse-7.

¹¹⁴ Abul Fazl described that *Karnphul* (ear flower) shaped like the flower of the *Magrela*. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.144.

¹¹⁵ *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., p.93.

¹¹⁶ *Labanyavati*, Ch-XII, op.cit., Verse-6.

¹¹⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.144.

¹¹⁸ *Sarala Mahabharata*, *Adiparva*, op.cit., p.251.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *Virat*, op.cit., p.56.

¹²⁰ *Jagamohana Ramayana*, *Adiparva*, op.cit., p.299.

¹²¹ *Saptasarimoti* was a necklace of seven strings of pearls with one *manikya* in the middle.

*Chausara*¹²⁵ and *Gotiamukta mani mala*.¹²⁶ The sculptures in the temples of Orissa are evident of the use of precious stones and pearls in the necklaces of that period.¹²⁷ The Muslims brought a new type of necklace called *Guluband*¹²⁸ to Orissa.

During the Mughal period, the people of Orissa adorned different kinds of ornaments on their arms, wrists and fingers. So far the arm is concerned they wore ornaments like *Bajrasenha*,¹²⁹ *Bahuti*,¹³⁰ *Daunria*,¹³¹ *Tada*¹³² and *Sikali*.¹³³ Among these *Bahuti* and *Bajrasenha* were used by the soldiers to protect their arms against the swords and arrows whereas *Tada* was a common ornament used by both the sexes.¹³⁴ In the sphere of wrist ornaments, they used *Atulya*,¹³⁵ *Chudi*, *Kachati*, *Kadiali*, *Khadu*¹³⁶, *Kankana*, *Panasa Khadia*¹³⁷ etc, among these *Kankana*, *Khata*, *Khadu* were worn by both the sexes. *Churi*¹³⁸ (a kind of flat or broad bracelet made of metal) and *Sankhas*¹³⁹ (Couch shell bangles) were used by the women only. *Bajubandh*,¹⁴⁰ *Kangan* and *katimakhala* were the Muslim introduction in the Orissan society. Besides these, the people of Orissa also wore different types of ring on their fingers called *mudi*. Sometimes, the figures of *tilaka*, flower and fish were engraved on these finger rings.¹⁴¹ Muslims introduced the *Anguthi*¹⁴² (Finger ring made of gold and silver) in the society of Orissa, which were, sometimes, adorned by precious stone like *rubi*, *akik*, diamond and pearls.

¹²² *Dosari Sunasuta* was a necklace of two golden strings with one pearl in the middle.

¹²³ *Chapasaramala* was a colour ornament worn round the neck.

¹²⁴ *Nilamanihara* was a necklace made of sapphire.

¹²⁵ *Chausara* was a necklace of four strings of jewels mixed with pearls.

¹²⁶ *Gotia mukta manimala* was a necklace consisting of pearls and jewels, strung on to silk with one locket in the middle.

¹²⁷ Mitra, R. L., *Antiquities of Orissa*, op. cit., p.1555 (Illustration No-63 and 142); Panigrahi, K.C., 'Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar', Calcutta, 1961, p.210

¹²⁸ *Guluband* consists of five or seven rose shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., p.145.

¹²⁹ *Sarala Mahabharata*, sabha parva, op.cit., p.79.

¹³⁰ *Koti Brahmanda Sundari*, Ch-XII, op.cit., Verse-28.

¹³¹ Das, Dinakrusna, *Rasakollala*, Calcutta, 1986, Canto, p.15.

¹³² *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., p.95.

¹³³ *Jagamohana Ramayana*, utara, op.cit., p.177.

¹³⁴ *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., p. 95.

¹³⁵ *Labanyavati*, op.cit., Ch-IV, Verse-28.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* Ch-XV, Verse-13.

¹³⁷ Mohanty, B., *Odiya Sahitya Itihasa*, Cuttack, 1978, Vol.II, p.479.

¹³⁸ Sahoo, K.C., *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., pp.95-96.

¹³⁹ The reference of *Sankhas* manufacture is found in Nagari plate Inscription, Cf. *EI*, XXVIII, pp.235-60.

¹⁴⁰ Abul Fazl mentions that *Bazuband* (armlet) are of various kind. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.145.

¹⁴¹ *Literature and Social life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., pp.95-96.

¹⁴² Abul Fazl has mentioned it as *Angustri*. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.145.

The people of Mughal Orissa also wore various types of girdles on their waist. The temple sculpture of Bhubaneswar¹⁴³ depicts vividly the girdles of various types used in Orissa viz., *Katiganthi*, *Katibandha*, *Katimakhala* or *Kati kinkani mekhala*.¹⁴⁴ These were used as a belt to tie the undergarment round the waist. The girdles fitted with bells and petals were called as *Odiyani*.¹⁴⁵

The Ladies of Mughal Orissa also adorn their foot and ankles with some decorative and beautiful ornaments like *Nupura*,¹⁴⁶ *Panjora*, *Bala*¹⁴⁷ (a kind of solid ring), *Kinkini* (anklet with small belt), *Todara* (anklet with chain), *Padapallava*¹⁴⁸ etc. They also used rings of different designs on their toes viz., *Jhuntia*,¹⁴⁹ *Paunji*. With the influences of the Muslims, the foot ornaments like *Pail*, *Ghunghru*, *Bichhwa* and *Anwat*¹⁵⁰ were also used by the women of Orissa during the period of our discussion. *Jehar* and *Payal* were two famous leg ornaments of the Muslims.¹⁵¹ They also wore rings of artistic design on toes and fingers.

Cosmetics and fragrances:

The people of Medieval Orissa were habituated of some herbal cosmetics and perfumes. They used cosmetics like *Chandan* (Sandal paste), *Karpur* (camphor) and *Haridra*. Among these *Chandan* was the most sacred and favourite to them. It was also the most essential item for their religious and social ceremonies. Abul Fazl refers to the anointing of the body of Oriyas with Sandal oil.¹⁵² Sometimes *Karpur* (camphor)¹⁵³ mixed with *Chandan* also used by the people of Mughal Orissa in the auspicious occasion like marriage and worship. *Haridra* or *Haldi* (Turmeric) was another item of cosmetics for the people of Orissa and it was used for shining as well as protection of the skin from various diseases. *Sindura*¹⁵⁴ (Vermilion) was very

¹⁴³ Mahapatra, R.P, 'Girdles as Depicted in the Temple Sculptures Of Bhubaneswar', in O.H.R.J., Vol-XII, 1964, pp.30-43.

¹⁴⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.145, See also *Sarala Mahabharata*, Virat, op cit., p.56.

¹⁴⁵ *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-XII, 1964, No.1.p.37.

¹⁴⁶ *Vaidehisa Vilasa*, op.cit., Ch-XI, Verse-16, See also *Odiya Sahityara Itihasa*, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.257,768.

¹⁴⁷ *Lavanayavati*, Ch-XV, op.cit., Verse-12,

¹⁴⁸ Rao, Ratnagiri, 'Cultural Advancement of Orissa Under the Gangas Of Kalinga', Calcutta, 1994, p.96.

¹⁴⁹ *Labanyavati*, Ch-IV, op. cit., Verse-34.

¹⁵⁰ Abul Fazl gives references of *Pail*, *Bichhwa* and *Anwat*. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbar*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 145-146.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.145.

¹⁵² *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.51.

¹⁵³ *Lavanayavati*, Ch-III, op.cit., Verses-15 and 18.

¹⁵⁴ *Jagamohan Ramayana*, Cf. S.N. Das, *Odiya Sahityara itihasa*, op.cit., Vol-I, p.532.

famous cosmetics of the married women in Orissa. It was considered auspicious for the married women to put a vermilion mark on parting of the hair of forehead. The *Kajwala* (collyrium) was also commonly used by ladies of Orissa in order to enhance the radiance of their eyes.¹⁵⁵ During the Mughal period, the women used to chewed *pan* (betel leaf) to red their lips¹⁵⁶ and used a kind of red liquid called 'Alata' to colour their feet red and attractive.¹⁵⁷ Besides these, they also put flowers of different kind on their long flowing tresses (*veni*).¹⁵⁸ Abul Fazl referenced the availability of the flowers like *Gul-i-Nasrin* in Orissa.¹⁵⁹

Since the Muslims were very fond of cosmetics and fragrances, so they brought a variety of perfumes and cosmetics into Orissa. The Muslims of Orissa used *Wasma* (prepared out of indigo and other ingredients to paint their hair and beard), *Khizab* (hair dye), *gulguma*,¹⁶⁰ *Ghaza* (red talk powder) and *Gulab jal* to enhance the beauty and glamour of their face and *Surma-i- Chasm* (collyrium for eyes) to enhance radiance of their eyes. They also used scented oil (*ittar*) made of *aguru*, *musk*, *ambar*, *argaja* and rose. Abul Fazl gives a list of perfumes used by the emperor, prince, nobles and other royal households in his *Ain*.¹⁶¹ The Muslims of Orissa also used *Luban*¹⁶² (frankincense) to keep their room and its surroundings fresh and scented. *Heena* (Mehandi) was favorite cosmetics for the Muslim women to give red colour to their hands and feet.

There are references of using of *Gulabjal*, *Musk*, *khizab*, *gulguma* and *Heena* by the local populace of Orissa during the Mughal period and now. Even the priest of Orissa used *Luban* at the evening in the temple premise which shows the impact of Muslims on Orissan culture.

Amusement:

The Amusements and recreations are vital aspects of healthy social life because these give much pleasure and rest to the mind, which is very essential for the improvement of intelligence and active participation in the day to day activities.

¹⁵⁵ Das, S.N, *Odiya Sahityara itihasa*, op.cit., Vol-I, p. 533, Vol-II, p.768.

¹⁵⁶ Tavernier, 'Travels in India', op.cit, Vol.I, p. 294.

¹⁵⁷ Das, S.N, *Odiya Sahityara Itihasa*, op.cit., Vol-I, p.533; Vol-II, pp.257,596, 775; Vol-III, P.139.

¹⁵⁸ *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*, op.cit., p.147.

¹⁵⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.51.

¹⁶⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.54.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.55.

¹⁶² *Luban* is the odorous gum of a tree which is found in Java when it exposed to fire, it evaporates scents like camphor. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.62.

The people of Orissa spent their leisure in several kinds of amusements during the Mughal period viz. *Banavihara* (hunting), *Naukavihara* (boating), *Chaugan* (polo), Animal fighting, *Jhimanikhela* (Kabadi), *Mallayudha* (wrestling), Kite flying, pigeon flying, Music, Drama, *Pasa Khela* (Dice playing) and others.

BanaVihara (Hunting):

Orissa was covered by dense forests during the Mughal period. Its forests were full of wild animals. Bruton in his accounts of Orissa states that “here are greater store of beasts than in any other part of India as oxen, camels, tigers, lions, dogs, deer and elephants were found in large number”.¹⁶³ So hunting of animals was popular in Orissa. The epigraphical records referenced the grant of hunting right to the Oriya people by the then rulers.¹⁶⁴ The hunting of wild animals was one of the popular games among the kings, nobles and zamindars. They often launched hunting excursions accompanied by their retinues and used various techniques to hunt their targeted animals. According to Bruton “they have dogs which are as fierce as lion with which, they usually hunt and pursue those wild beasts for their delight and pleasure”.¹⁶⁵ Tiger hunting was a pastime more particularly with the kings, princes and zamindars. Although Orissa was famous as the land of elephants and its rulers were known as Gajapati¹⁶⁶, so we have also references of elephant hunting or catching of wild elephant in Orissa. Various techniques were used to catch elephants, the detailed of which has been given by Abul Fazl in his Ain.¹⁶⁷ But the common people of Orissa were delighted in hunting of hare, deer and other beasts.¹⁶⁸ They used bows and arrows for hunting purposes.¹⁶⁹ It was not only a source of entertainment but also a means of livelihood for some people.

NaukaVihara (Moving on the boat):

Orissa has passer way for many rivers like *Mahanadi*, *Baitarni*, *Brahmani*, *Bodabadanga*, *Kathjori*, *Subernarekha* etc, which fall in the Bay of Bengal. So,

¹⁶³ Bruton, *Account of Cuttack and Puri*, Cf.O.H.R.J.,Vol-X,No.3,1961, p.49.

¹⁶⁴ *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol-XVI,1930, p.81; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol-XII, pp.237-242.

¹⁶⁵ Bruton, *Account of Cuttack and Puri*, op.cit., p.49.

¹⁶⁶ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.51

¹⁶⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.145-147.

¹⁶⁸ Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, op.cit., p.375.

¹⁶⁹ Hedge, W, *The Dairies of Sir William Hedges during his Agency in Bengal as well as Voyage out and return overland(1681-1687)*, ed. Col. Henry Yule, London,1889, Vol.I,p. 67.

*Nauka vihara*¹⁷⁰ was another pastime of the people belonging to the royal households and affluent families of Orissa during the Mughal period. Besides it *Jalakrida* (water sport or swimming) was another source of entertainment of the people of Orissa.¹⁷¹ The *Rayavacakam* mentions that ‘the Gajapati along with his sixteen patras (minister) spent two hour daily in bathing in the river Mahanadi.’¹⁷²

Chaugan (Polo):

Chaugan or *Hingidi* was another game of the Mughal Orissa. It was played on horseback with a stick and a ball as polo. It was an aristocratic game mostly played by the king, princes, nobles and other male member of royal households of Orissa. It is evident from the fact that Kakharua Dev, the son of Gajapati Prataprudra Deva, lost his life while playing Chaugan.¹⁷³ Abul Fazl states that, Akbar was very fond of this game of chaugan.¹⁷⁴ According to Abul Fazl, playing chaugan is a means of learning, promptitude and decision. Strong men learn in playing this game the art of riding and the animals learn to perform feats of agility and to obey the rein.¹⁷⁵

Jhimanikhela (Dudu):

*Jhimanikhela*¹⁷⁶ (which is also known as Kabadi or dudu) was another sources of entertainment for the people of Orissa. It was played on open plain court. It was mostly played among the village folks of Orissa during the period under review.

Mallayudha:

Mallayudha (wrestling) was one of the popular games of the people of Orissa since the ancient period but it achieved great recognition in Orissa with the development of *mathas* and *chaupadis* during the Mughal Period. The contemporary poets like Sarala Dasa¹⁷⁷ and Upendra Bhanja¹⁷⁸ have described the popularity of this game in Orissa during the Mughal period.

¹⁷⁰ Sarala Mahabharata, Madhya parva, op.cit., p.120.

¹⁷¹ Rath, ‘Sarala Mahabharatere Samajika Jeeban’, op.cit., p.339.

¹⁷² Rayavacakam’, ed., A.B. Mohanty, Bhubaneswer, 1982, pp.2-5.

¹⁷³ The Gajapati Kings of Orissa’, op.cit, p.149.

¹⁷⁴ Ain-i-Akbari, op.cit., Vol.I, p.153.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.,

¹⁷⁶ Sarala Dasa in his work has given the evidence of *Jhimini khela* being played between the Pandavas and the Kauravas. Cf. *Sarala Mahabharata*, Adiparva, op.cit., p.124.

¹⁷⁷ In course of describing the game of wrestling, Sarala Dasa referred to the wrestling between Bhimasena and Prasedimalla. Cf. *Sarala Mahabharata*, Virat parva, op.cit., p.48.

¹⁷⁸ Bhanja Upendra, ‘Koti Brahmanda Sundari’, Cf. Das, S.N, *Odiya Sahitya itihasa*, op.cit., Vol-II, pp..595,801.

Animal fighting:

The fighting between trained animals was one of the popular amusements and recreation of the people of Orissa during the period under review. The kings and the nobles amused themselves with costly and dangerous combats like elephants, tigers, cheetahs, leopards, bulls and other wild beasts.¹⁷⁹ Abul Fazl also gives description of the deer fighting.¹⁸⁰ The common people of Orissa had to content themselves with the less expensive fighting of goats, Rams, cocks, antelopes and bulls to entertain their friends. Cock fighting was very common and used to arranged, to entertain the people during the time of social gathering like *Melas* (fairs), *Yatras* (festivals) under the Mughal rule.

Music and Drama:

The Music, Dance and Drama were other sources of recreation of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. The contemporary sources and the sculptures of temple refer to that, Music in all its aspects was in highly developed form in Orissa during the period under review.¹⁸¹ It was preserved in the courts of the rajas, Maharajas and Zamindars of the feudatory states of Orissa.¹⁸² The musicians were called to play music on certain special occasion and social gathering like marriage, festivals and annual gathering of the car festivals. The musicians of Orissa used different types of musical instruments which have clearly been depicted on the wall of the temples of Konark, Puri and Bhubaneswar. S.R. Sharma¹⁸³ has catalogued as many as twenty nine types of musical instruments from the temple sculpture of Orissa. *Chata Echavati*¹⁸⁴ of Banamali Das refers to musical instruments used in marriage ceremony viz. *Tamaka*, *Nisani*, *Bheri*, *Sankha*, *mardula* and *mahuri*. Some other musical instrument like *Mridanga*, *Bansi*, *kaysala*, *Dosari*, *Kahala* and *Upanga* were also used by the Oriyas in the Mughal period. The Muslims also introduced some new musical instruments in Orissa like *Sitar*, *Sarod*, *Dilruba*, *Drums*, *Shahnai*, *tambura* (Arabic tonbour) etc.

The music, dance and dramatic performances were also the sources of delightedness for general masses as well as the royal households in Medieval Orissa. So that, all most all the temples of Orissa built in medieval period are having their

¹⁷⁹ Srivastav, M.P, '*Society and Culture in Medieval India*', Allhabad, 1975, p.117.

¹⁸⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.113-114.

¹⁸¹ Misra, N.M, '*Odissa Ki Nataka Our Rangamanccha*', (Hindi), NewDelhi, 2001, p.27.

¹⁸² Jena, B.B, *Orissa: 'People, Culture and Polity*', New Delhi, 1980, p.126.

¹⁸³ Sharma, R, *Musical Instruments in Orissa, Dance and Temple Sculpture* 'Marg, XIII, No.2, op.cit., pp.40-43.

¹⁸⁴ Das, Banamali, '*Chata Echavati*', op. cit., p.63.

own *Natamandap* (stage for dance and dramatic performances) which were built by the local rajas. The surface of the *Natamandap* of the Sun temple at Konark is covered with the carving of hundreds of dancing girls and their musicians, it also depicts the all forms of the Odissi dance with its different poses and styles¹⁸⁵, these shows that the people of Orissa were fond of dance and drama and enjoyed by watching the dramas like *Ram lila*, *Krishna lila* and *Harilila* performed on occasion of fairs and festivals. During the last phase of the Mughal rule, a unique type of folk drama showing the use of the Mughal costumes and the Persian language called *Mughal Tamasa* was popular in Orissa.¹⁸⁶ It was another source of recreation for the people of Orissa, particularly of the Bhadrak Sarkar.

Besides these, the people of Orissa were also in habit of flying kites¹⁸⁷ called as *gudi* which were made of paper. It was particularly popular among the boys whereas the pigeon flying (*Ishqbazi*) was popular among the kings, princes, nobles and other members of the royal house of Orissa during the Mughal period. It was perhaps introduced by Mughals in Orissa. The other sources of recreation among the people of *nagara* (cities) of Orissa were the *Dhanurvidya* (archery), *Khand Khela* (playing with swords), Horserace, Chariot race, and Elephant race.¹⁸⁸

The people of Orissa also played various kinds of indoor games for their recreation like, *Pasakhela* (dice playing), cards, *Kauri*, *Bhaga Cheli* and *Satranj* (chess). Among these Chess and dice playing were very popular indoor games of the elite section of the Oriyan society. The frequent references of playing these games are found in the contemporary works of Sarala Dasa¹⁸⁹, Jagannatha Das', and Visvanath Kaviraj. Abul Fazl describes about the playing of cards and innovation of Akbar in his *Ain-i-Akbari*.¹⁹⁰ The playing of the *Ganjifa*¹⁹¹ type card by the people of Orissa was introduction by the Muslims in Orissa.

¹⁸⁵ Charles, Fabri, 'The sculptures of the Sun Temple-A Study on Style', Marg, XII, in 'History of Art of Orissa,' Calcutta, 1947, pp.33-43.

¹⁸⁶ S. Mohapatra, 'Mughal Tamasha, A unique Specimen of folk Drama Prevalent at Bhadrak', Subas Pani, ed. *Glimpse of History and Culture of Balesore*, Orissa Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar, 1988. p.291.

¹⁸⁷ Thevenot, Monsieur, 'Indian Travels of Monsieur De Thevenot and Jammelli', op.cit., Vol-III, p.72.

¹⁸⁸ Rath, 'Sarala Mahabharata Samajika Jeeban', op.cit., pp.336-337.

¹⁸⁹ *Sarala Mahabharata*, (sabha parva), op.cit., p.311.

¹⁹⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.158.

¹⁹¹ Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, *Babur Nama*, trs., Khan-i-Khana Bairam Khan, Bombay, 1308.A.H., p.217. It was a circular playing card available in sets of different colours introduced in India by Babur. See also *Babur Nama*, (Persian) trs., A.S. Beveridge, London, 1971, Vol.I, p.330.

Chapter-IV

Religion and festivals

The people of Orissa had been very religious from the ancient period. They were mostly Hindus during the Mughal period. According to Hunter, “For two thousand years Orissa has been the holy land of the Hindus. It is the land that taketh away sin. It is the realm established by the gods; from end to end it is one vast region of pilgrimage”.¹ Looking its religious scenario, Man Singh, the victorious general of the emperor Akbar exclaimed that “this country is no fit subject for conquest or for scheme of human ambition”.² The contemporary literatures mentioned that, till the middle of the sixteenth century, Orissa had been purely a Hindu country that during Sri Chaitanya’s journey to Puri in 1510 A.D. the last outpost of Muslim rule was – Pichhalda³ and to the south of its lay Hindu Orissa where there was not a single permanent Muslim settler.⁴ Neamatullah also mentions that, Puri was not visited by any Muhammadan before Sulaiman Karrani’s invasion in 1568.⁵ However, during the Mughal period Hinduism with its various sects and cults was manifested in this region. That almost all the cults of Hindus viz. Saivism, Saktism, Vaishnavism, Surya cult etc were flourished here with their distinct features during the above said period. It was also the period when the Gaudiya Vaishnavism was gaining popularity over the Orissa Vaishnavism. But all these sects were gathering a form of synthesis under the institution of Jagannath of Puri, so Puri was considered as the principal Sanctuary of Hindu ideas and culture of the Oriya people during this period. This chapter also throws lights on the religious sects and festivals of Orissa during the Mughal period. It also deals with the Islam and the observation of Muslim festivals in Orissa.

¹ Hunter, *Orissa*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.81.

² Stirling. A, *An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, Asiatic Researchs, Vol-XV, Madras University Historical Series-18, Madras ,1946, pp.167, 291.

³ Kaviraj Krishna Das, ‘*Chaitanya charitamrita*’, Madhyalila, pratham khanda, Gondiya Math, op.cit., p. 664a, Pichhalda was situated on the Southern bank of the Rupnarayan river, Cf . *The Gajapati Kings of Orissa*’ op. cit., p.76n

⁴ Sarkar, Jadunath, *History of Bengal*, Patna, 1973, Vol.II, p.118.

⁵ Nia’matullaha, *Tarikh-i-Khan Jahani Wa Makhzan-i-Afghani*, op.cit., Vol.I., p.413.

Hindu religious sects:

Saiva Sect:

It was one of the important sects of the people of Orissa during the period under review. The follower of this sect believed in power of Shiva, who was worshipped under different names in Orissa viz. *Mahadeva*, *Lingaraj*, *Nilakanthesvara*, *Bhairava* and *Rudra*.⁶ Although Shiva was represented in various form in this region but mainly the 'linga' or Phallus form of worship was very popular during the Mughal period. Sometimes, Shiva is also represented with Parvati in an embracing position, a bull and lion are generally found on this pedestal.⁷ There were a number of Shiva temples in different parts of Orissa during this period, which was constructed mostly by the kings of the Somavamsi dynasty of Orissa during 11th century like the Mukteshwar temple, Lingraj temple of Bhubneswar.⁸ During the Mughal period, the south-west region of Orissa was dedicated to Shiva and called as *Hara-kshetra*.⁹ Though Saivism lost its popularity due to the growth of the cult of Jagannath but remained as an important faith of the Oriyas during the period of our discussion.

Sakti cult:

Another important cult of the Oriyas during the Mughal period was Sakti cult. The worship of Goddess in various forms was the philosophy and ideology of this sect. The people of Orissa worshiped goddess like *Durga*, *Kali*, *Chandi*, *Sarala*, *Mangala*, *Vimala*, *Khambeswari*, *Vyaghradevi* etc.¹⁰ There were many Sakta shrines in Orissa during the Mughal period viz. the shrine of Mangala devi at Kakatapur, Viraja at Jajpur, Sarala at Jhankara, TaraTarini at Purushottampur. Among these Jajpur was the religious centre of the Saktas and was sacred to Parvati (the wife of the Shiva) and knows as *Parvati Kshetra*.¹¹ A temple called Biraja was also built here in the memory of Parvati, which was visited by Chaitanya on his way to Puri in 1510 A.D.¹² The main rites of these Shakti shrines were sacrifice of different kinds of animals. Later due to the profound impact of Vaishnavism, the Saktism was gradually

⁶ A.P. Sah, *Aspects of life in Medieval Orissa*, op.cit., p. 176.

⁷ K.C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Calcutta, 1961, Fig- 135.

⁸ Ibid. P.159.

⁹ Hunter, *Orissa*, op. cit, Vol.I, p.82.f.n.

¹⁰ Sahu, Bhagabana, '*Cultural History of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1997, p.130.

¹¹ Hunter, *Orissa*, op. cit., Vol.I. p.81.

¹² Das, Vrindavan, '*Chaitanya Bhagavata*., Gaudiya math, Calcutta, 1967, p. 11.

mingled with the cult of Jagannath and goddess Durga was regarded as another form of Devi Subhadra.¹³

Sun cult:

The people of Orissa also worshiped the Sun as god during the period under review. The worship of Sun had been continuing in Orissa since long past. The earliest reference of the Sun worship is found in the caves of the Khandagiri hills near Bhubaneswar.¹⁴ The worship of Sun god reached its climax in Orissa in the Ganga period under Narasimha deva-I, who built the famous Sun temple at Konark known as *Arkatirtha*. Sarala Das also referred to the worship of the Sun in his *Mahabharata*.¹⁵ Hunter also writes about the worship of Sun in Orissa, he says “The most exquisite memorial of sun worship in India, or, I believe in any shore, built according to the most trustworthy records, between 1237 and 1282 A.D., shortly after the triumph of the graceful Vishnavite creed. It concentrates in itself the accumulated beauties of the four architectural centuries among the Hindus. Notwithstanding the indecent sculptures which disgrace its exterior wall, it forms the climax of Orissa art and wrung and unwilling tribute even from the Mahammadans.”¹⁶ During the Mughal period, the worship of Sun was prevailed in Orissa. There were many temples dedicated to Sun god in this period like the *Viranchi Narayan* temple¹⁷ at Palia in Bhadrak Sarkar. We also find references of another Sun temple of that age at Soro,¹⁸ and at Buguda in Ganjam etc. Although, the Sun cult was merged into the Vaishnava cult in Orissa but the people of Orissa worshiped the Sun on the day of *Samba Dasami*¹⁹ during the Mughal period.

Vaishnava Sect:

The Vaishnavism was another important sect of Orissa during the Mughal period. The followers of this sect emphasized on the worship of Vishnu as God, who

¹³ *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, op.cit., p.256, *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol, XI, (1963), No. 4, p.280.

¹⁴ De. S.C., *Descriptive Catalogue of the copper plate Inscriptions of Orissa*, Bhubaneswar, 1961, p-XIII,

¹⁵ *O.H. R.J.*, Vol. XXVII, No- 1 to 4, (1981), p. 96.

¹⁶ *History of Orissa*, ed. N.K.Sahu, Cuttack, 1964, Vol.I, p.126.

¹⁷ *O.H. R.J.*, Vol, XI,(1963), No.4, p.280.

¹⁸ Soro was under Sahansu or Sohso pargana of Bhadrak Sarkar Cf. *Notes on Akbar's Subahs, with references to the Ain-i-Akbar by John Beames*, ed. B.P. Ambashithya, Patna, 1976, p.108; *J. B.O.R.S.*, (1991), p.303.

¹⁹ Panda, S.K., *Medieval Orissa*, New Delhi, 1991, p.121.

incarnated time to time as Rama²⁰ and Krishna.²¹ He has been regarded as true, eternal and beautiful, who dwelt in Vaikuntha along with his wife Lakshmi (The Goddess of wealth and prosperity). He was the ideal God of the house holders in Orissa.²² The Vaishnavism in Orissa was based on Jayadeva's *Gita Govinda* and *Abhinava Gita Govinda*²³. It was very popular sect among the Oriyas but during the Mughal period this sect was divided in two group viz. Oriya Vaishnavism and GaudiyaVaishnavism, but both the group has some sort of differences. The Oriya Vaishnavism puts emphasis on *Rama* and *Jagannath* thought, Krishna came to the picture as second to Rama.²⁴ Their Mantra of recitation was '*Hare Ram, Hare Ram, Ram Ram, Hare Hare*'.²⁵ Another peculiar character of Oriya Vaishnavism is that, the followers of this group were not rigid to pay respect only to Vaishnava deities like Krishna and Jagannath, but they also showed their devotion to Shiva, Sakti, Ganapati and Surya. Therefore, Oriya Vaishnavas were called as the devotee of '*Panchadevata*'²⁶ whereas the Gaudiya Vaishnavism was started in Orissa with the coming of Shri Chaitanya²⁷ who laid stress on sincere and passion able love for God and gave more emphasis on Krishna²⁸ and ignored Rama. Chaitanya and his disciples propagated "*Krishna-Radha premtatva*" in the temple of Lord Jagannath.²⁹ A new type of emotional and devotional songs called '*Sanskirtana*' (it consist mainly recitation of the name of Hari and Krishna in chorus) was the feature of Chaitanya's philosophy.³⁰ The *Bhajan-mantra* of GaudiyaVaishnava was "*Hare Krishna Hare Krishna Krishna Krishna Hare Hare*." The ideology of this group was also popular among the Hindus of Orissa during the period under review. However Vaishnavism in Orissa flourished under the banners of Lord Jagannath and Vaishnav faith centered round the cult of Jagannath,

²⁰ Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Monsieur De Thevenot and Jammelli Careri*, op.cit., p. 259.

²¹ H.V.S. Murthy, *Vaisnavism of Samkaradeva and Ramanuja* (a comparative study), Delhi, 1973, pp. 11-12.

²² R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism and Shaivism-Other minor religious system*, Varanasi, 1965, pp. 146-148.

²³ *Abhinav Gita Govinda* was written in Sanskrit by Kabi Chandra Mishra and dedicated to Purushottam deva (King of Orissa) Cf. *Oriya Sahitya Itihasa*, of S.N. Das, Cuttack, 1963, Vol.I, p. 337.

²⁴ Samantaraya, Natabar, '*Sakha HinaPancha-Sakha*,' Berhampur, 1975, p.88.

²⁵ Ibid.,

²⁶ Kanhu Charan Mishra, '*Orissi Vishnava Dharma*', Orissa Sahitya Academy, Bhubaneswar, 1990, p.18

²⁷ Shri Chaitanya was born at Navadip in 1486 and came to Orissa in 1510 A.D. along with his two main followers named *Avitananda* and *Nityanada* during the reign of king Prataparudra deva. Cf. P. Mukherjee, in '*The History of Chaitanya faith in Orissa*', New Delhi, 1979, p.27

²⁸ Krishnadasa, '*Chaitanya Charitamrita*' (Adilila), op.cit., pp. 64-65.

²⁹ S.N. Das, '*Oriya Sahitya Itihasa*', GranthaMandir, Cuttack, 1963, p.503.

³⁰ R.C Mazumdar, '*History and Culture of the Indian People*', ed. Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay, 1971, Vol.VI, p.568.

who was considered the most important and presiding deity in the context of Orissa. Sarala Dasa in his *Oriya Mahabharata* has identified Krishna with Jagannath.³¹

Cult of Jagannath :

The most famous and popular cult of the people of Orissa during the Mughal period was the cult of Jagannatha. The *Jagannatha Dharma* was the *Gana Dharma* (religion of the Masses) of Orissa and the religious culture of Orissa was the culture of Lord Jagannatha. There are many references of the Jagannath in the contemporary sources of the Mughal period that, Abul Fazl has described about the Jagannath and its rituals in his *Ain*.³² Mirza Nathan also gives vivid description of the Jagannath in his work.³³ Bernier describes that, the town of *Jagannat* is situated on the Gulf of Bengals and contains the famous temple of the idol of that name.³⁴ Besides this, the British officers posted in Orissa like- Charles Grome, Beams, and travelers like Hunter, Stirling and other have given detail description about the cult of Jagannath of Puri. Charles Grome writes about the Jagannath and the rituals related to him and he called Jagannath as *Srijeo* or *shewajee*.³⁵ Beams in his 5th report to the house of common in England in A.D.1812 described that 'there is a temple of Jagannath at Puri which is noted for its antiquity. It was a centre of a great yearly pilgrimage'.³⁶

There are various theories regarding the origin of the Jagannath cult. Nilakantha Das is of the opinion that, the three main images- *Balabhadra*, *Subhadra* and *Jagannath* collectively stands for the Jaina trinity concept of *Samyakajana*, *Samyakacharita* and *Samyakadrishi*.³⁷ Mayadhar Mansinha has attempted to trace the origin of Jagannath from Buddhism. According to him, the worship of three symbols in Buddhism called tri-ratna such as *Buddha*, *Dhamma* and *Sangha* may be identified with *Balabhadra*, *Subhadra* and *Jagannath*.³⁸ Scholars like K.C. Mishra and A.

³¹ S. N. Das, 'Oriya Sahityara Itihas', op.cit., Vol.I, p.338.

³² *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.52.

³³ Mirza Nathan, *Bahiristan-i-Ghaybi*, trs., Bhora, Vol.I, Gauhati, 1936, pp.35-36, Vol.II, p.806.

³⁴ Bernier, *Trevels in the Mogul Empire (A.D.-1656-1668)*, op.cit., p. 304.

³⁵ *Charles Grome's Report on the Temple of Jagannath on 10th June 1805*. ed. K..S. Behera, Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, 2002, pp.6-23.

³⁶ *Beame's contributions to the political Geography of the Subah of Awadh, Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in the Age of Akbar*. ed. B.P. Ambashthya, Janki Prakash, Patna, 1976, p. 57.

³⁷ Das, Nilakantha, 'Hints on the significance and History of Jagannath', Cf. *O.H.R.J.* Vol.VII,(1959), No.-1, pp.2-3.

³⁸ Mansingh, Mayadhar, 'History of Oriya literature, New Delhi , 1962, p.88.

Eschman³⁹ have dealt with the tribal origin of the Jagannatha. They narrated that the deity was originally worshipped by the aboriginal *Sabara* chief Visvavasu in the forest and which later on appeared at Puri. The same information is also provided by W.W. Hunter.⁴⁰ According to Stirling, the three images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra respectively represent Vishnu, Shiva and Durga.⁴¹

The temple of Jagannath stands majestically in Puri was actually built by Chodagangadeva in the twelfth century.⁴² The outer wall of the temple is provided with four gates in its four direction viz. the eastern gate is called *Singhadwara* (lions gate), western gate is named as *Aswadwara* (horse gate), the northern gate is called *Hasti Dwara* (elephant's gate) and the southern gate is named *Khanja Dwara* (tiger's gate). Among these, the most important is *Singhadwara* in front of which stands a monolithic pillar called *Aruna Stambha* (Sun pillar). The main deities worshiped in it are the Balabhadra (the elder Brother of Jagannatha), Subhadra (the sister of Jagannath) and Jagannath himself.

However, during the Mughal period, Orissa was regarded as the land of Lord Jagannath and Puri was entitled as *Sriksetra*, *Purushottamksetra* (the dwelling of Vishnu) and the *Swargadwara* (the Gate of Heaven).⁴³ Jagannath was regarded as the *Rastra Devata* and the religious history of Orissa flourished itself with the history of Jagannath. All other deities were supposed to be somewhat less important to be associated with Jagannath. Lord Jagannath was the presiding deity, the embodiment of the nation's adoration and belief. The significance of this cult may be measure from the point that, whenever Orissa was occupied for the first time by the Mughal general Raja Man singh from Afghan general Nasir Khan, a treaty was signed in which, Jagannath, the celebrated place of worship along with its surrounding district was ceded to the emperor Akbar as crown land.⁴⁴ Even Raja Man Singh after the completion of his Orissa conquest in 1593 A.D. shifted its charge to the local raja of khurda Raja Ram Chandra deva as its custodian by giving him *khadi Prasad*⁴⁵

³⁹ 'The cult of Jagannath and Regional Tradition of Orissa' ed. Kulke. H. and Tripathy, G.C, New Delhi, 1978, Ch -IV, pp.79-80.

⁴⁰ Hunter, *Orissa*, op. cit., Vol.I, pp.89-91.

⁴¹ *An Account(Geographical, Statistical, Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, op.cit., p.104.

⁴² *Madalapanji*., op.cit., p.17.

⁴³ Hunter, *Orissa*, op. cit., Vol.I, p. 84.

⁴⁴ Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed., Elliot and Dowson, op.cit, Vol.VI, pp.86-87.

⁴⁵ *Madalapanji* ,ed., Artablabh Mohanti, (PrachiSamiti), Cuttack, (1932) , reprint by Orissa Sahitya Akademy, (2001), p.42.

(cooked rice offered to Jagannath than given to a person, who recognized as the king of Orissa). According to Madlapanji, Raja Man Singh's wife had constructed the *Mukti Mandap* at the Temple of Jagannath.⁴⁶

So far the rituals and ceremonies of the Jagannath are concerned, it has been mentioned that many rituals were performed daily in the temple of Jagannath by the *Sevakas*. Charles Grome in his report has mentioned about the ceremonies performed in this temple in detail. He has also listed the articles, dress and jewels worn by the deities.⁴⁷ It is also stated in *Ain* that "the three images are washed six times every day and freshly clothed. Fifty to sixty priests wearing the Brahmanical thread stand to do them service and each time large number of food are brought out for the images, so that twenty thousand people per day take the Prasad".⁴⁸ The most important ceremony of lord Jagannath, celebrated during the Mughal period was *Rath yatra*.

Although some instances of the raid of the Jagannath temple of Puri by the Mughal governors and their generals like- Keso Dash Maro, Raja Kalyan, Mukarram Khan, Ahmed Beg, Khan-i-Durran and Muhammad Taqi Khan are evident in the sources but it is a matter of inquiry that, why the Mughal governors raided repeatedly to the temple of Jagannath not to other temple of the Puri and Khurda region. When the critical analysis of the sources was made the result came that, the temple of Jagannath was the dominating factor for the Khurda and its Raja, though the Raja of Khurda had accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal emperors but always behaving as an independent ruler and defiance to the Mughal loyalty. This attitude of Raja of Khurda was suspected by the Mughal governors of Orissa. So, to check the power of the Raja of Khurda they attacked and seized the Jagannath temple continuously, to create pressure on the Raja of Khurda to be loyal towards the Mughal authority. Even there are many references of the land grants made by the Mughal governors and Muslim officers of Orissa to the Mathas and individual priest, to perform some rituals of the lord Jagannath like Guljar Hussain granted the entire mauza of Baghua to Sri Jagannath Thakur through Mahant Mohan Das for *Amrutamohini*,⁴⁹ Shujauddin Mohammad Khan also granted one bati and two manas of land to Purusottam Bharati

⁴⁶ Madalapanji, ed., Artablabh Mohanti, op.cit., p.42.

⁴⁷ Charles Grome's Report on the temple of Jagannatha on 10th June 1805. Op.cit., pp. 33-159.

⁴⁸ Abul Fazl, 'Ain-i-Akbari', op. cit., Vol.II, p. 52.

⁴⁹ The original manuscript is preserved at Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, MSS. (S. No. 201-294/861).

in Suasahi Village for the maintenance of *Sadabrata* rituals,⁵⁰ Shah Alam granted a sanad(land grant) to Mahant Shiba Das as charity(Khairat) for offering Bhoga to Jagannath Thaku,⁵¹ Alivardi Khan also granted a sanad(land grant) to Shyam Mohapatra as Khairat for offering of Bhoga to Thakur(Jagannath)⁵² and Raja Sarfuddin Hussain granted the entire village of Jagannathpur to adhikari Gopinath Das for the expenses of the pilgrims and beggars who comes to Puri in the time of Ratha Yatra⁵³ etc. So whatever steps taken by some of the Mughal governors and their generals towards the Jagannath temple that were politically motivated not by religious agenda.

Islam in Orissa:

Islam means the religion of resignation, Submission to the will, the service, and the command of God (Allah) and the Quran is the First Foundation. The faith is based on *Tauhid* (The oneness of God). It is essential for every Muslim to believe in Allah (God), His Angels, His scripture (Quran), His apostles, in the resurrection and the days of Judgment and in God's absolute decree and pre- destination both of good and evil. Basically it stands on the five pillars which are as follows:

1. There is no God except Allah and Mohammad is Allah's messenger (*La-ila-ha il-lal-lah Muahmmad-ur-Rasolullah*).⁵⁴
2. **Namaz**⁵⁵ : There are five obligatory prayers which every Muslim perform viz- *fajr* (Morning prayer), *Zohar* (Noon prayer), *Asr* (afternoon Prayer) *Magrib* (evening prayer) *Ansha* (Night prayer).
3. **Roza**⁵⁶(Fasting): It is the third pillar of Islam which consist of total abstinence from food, drink and cohabitation from sunrise to sunset especially in the holy month of Ramdan (the ninth month of Islamic calendar).
4. **Zakat**⁵⁷(Alms): It is a kind of taxes or duty given by every well to do Muslims to the poor for their well being. The Quran also command to give *Zakat* (alms) to poor.

⁵⁰ The original manuscript is preserved at Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, MSS. (B. No.30/215).

⁵¹ Ibid. (S. No. 265-404/925).

⁵² Ibid. (S. No. 151-213/811).

⁵³ Ibid. (S. No. 197-287/857).

⁵⁴ *Al- Quran*, chapter-3, *Al-Bakra*, verse no. 255. See also chapter-26, verse no. 29.

⁵⁵ Ibid., chapter-1, *Al- Bakra*, verse no.43.

⁵⁶ *Al-Quran*, Chapter-2, *Al-Bakra*, verse no. 183.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Chapter-1, *Al- Bakra*, verse no. 43.

5. **Hajj** (Pilgrimage): It is pilgrimage to the Kaba, the holy house of Mecca in Arab. Every Muslim having the means must make the journey to Mecca for Pilgrimage at least once in his life.⁵⁸

With these principles, Islam flourished in many countries of the globe and also reached India. So far Orissa is concerned Sulaiman Karrani's invasion of Orissa in 1568 A.D. resulted the migration of the Muslims to Orissa and this migration was further intensified after Akbar's victory over it in 1575⁵⁹ by his general Todarmal. By the time of final conquest of Orissa in 1593 by Man Singh, Muslim settlements are found in many places in Orissa. During the time of Mughal conquest many Afghan refugees had settled in Orissa and were mingled with the rural population.⁶⁰ But the process of Muslim migration to Orissa became more rapid, after the establishment of the Mughal administration in Orissa. Hence the Muslim administrators, generals, camp followers came to Orissa, Later some Ulemas and saints also came to Orissa to cater their religious needs. Subsequently, Muslim religious institutions were erected and flourished in Orissa. Thus Muslims settled in this province with their own religion and culture. Cuttack as the Muslim capital of Orissa grew to be the most important place of Muslim religious institution later on with the penetration of the Muslim population to the interior of the province and the Muslim Mosques and tombs of saints were built in other parts of the province. The Dutch writer De laet stated in 1631 A.D. that by religion the people of Orissa were 'Mahametams' (Muhammadans).⁶¹ According to Thevenot, "In the sixties of the seventeenth century, many Muhammedans lived in Orissa."⁶² However the Muslim population in Orissa was smaller in comparison to the other Mughal provinces because, it came under the Muslim occupation in the era of religious toleration sponsored by Akbar.

Festivals and faiths:

The people of Orissa observed many socio-religious festivals during the Mughal period. They celebrated festivals like Rath yatra, Raja Samkranti, Sravana

⁵⁸ *Al-Quran*, Chapter-4, *Al-Imran*, verse no.97.

⁵⁹ J. Sarkar, '*History of Bengal*, op.cit., Vol .II, pp. 187-188.

⁶⁰ *A History of Orissa*, ed., N.K.Sahu, Cuttack, 1979, pp.169-170.

⁶¹ Laet, John De, *The Empire of the Great Mogol* trs., J.S.Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928, p.72.

⁶² Thevenot, Monsieur De: *Indian Travel of Monsieur De Thevenot and Tammelli Careri*, op.cit., p. 94.

Purnima, Aksyatritya, Rakhipurnima, Kumarpurnima, Sivaratri, Durgapuja, Ganeshpuja, Holi, Deepavali, Janmasthami and *Ashokashtami* around the year. They also observed many *Oshas* and *Bratas* which were intended to regulate their private life by taking recourse to *Upavasa* (fasting), *Jagarana* (vigil) and *Upasana* (worship) as the part of their faith.⁶³ The popular festivals celebrated by the Hindus of Orissa during the Mughal period are as follows:

Rath Yatra:

The Rath Yatra (car festival)⁶⁴ of Lord Jagannatha of Puri was the most popular festival of Orissa during the period under review. It falls on the second day of the bright fortnight of Ashada.⁶⁵ During this yatra, the images of Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra were richly attired and gorgeously adorned and placed on three wooden chariots (rath). The chariot of Lord Jagannath was known as *Nandighosa* (Chakradhwaja Ratha) with its sixteen wheels where as the chariot of Balabhadra was known as *Taladhwaja* and the chariot of Subhadra was called *Debadalana* and set on fourteen wheels.⁶⁶ This festival was continued for ten days. On the first day, the lord Jagannath along with Balabhadra and his sister Subhadra mounted on their respective chariot and drawn one and half mile by the devotees to *Gundicha mandap* where they remained till the tenth lunar days in the bright fortnight of Asadha. During these days Jagannath is worshiped in different incarnations known as *Dasavatara* and on the tenth day Jagannath returned to his main temple from Gundicha mandap which was celebrated as *Bahuda Yatra* by the people of Orissa.⁶⁷

Although Lord Jagannath was the main deity of the land or the people's God, so the followers of different caste and sects of the Hindu religion also took part in this yatra for a glimpse of the lord Jagannath. Even the people of lower caste, who were not allowed to enter his temple under normal circumstances, were also allowed to see the Jagannath during this festival. Except few occasions, this festival was celebrated with pomp and show in Orissa during the Mughal period. So far the drawing of the

⁶³ Rath, 'Sarala Mahabharate Samajika Jeevan', op.cit., p. 318.

⁶⁴ See Plate No. 3 for the photo of Rath Yatra, Jagannath of Puri.

⁶⁵ Ashada is the third month of the Oriya calendar. Which is June as the English calendar.

⁶⁶ Bernier is of the view that the wooden machines of Jagannath is set on fourteen or Sixteen wheels like those of a gun- carriage. Cf. Bernier, 'Travels in the Mogul Empire' (AD.1656-1663), trs., Archibald Constable, New Delhi, pp. 304-305.

⁶⁷ Dasa, Balarama, *Jagmohan Ramayan*, Lenka, op.cit, p. 320. See also Sahoo, K.C., 'Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa', op.cit., p.71.

chariot of Jagannath is concerned, Abul Fazl writes that, the people of Orissa believed that “whosoever draws it is absolved from sin and is visited by no temporal distress”.⁶⁸ Bernier writes that, “while the chariot of hellish triumph pursues its solemn march, persons are found to throw themselves upon the ground in the way of its ponderous wheels, which pass over and crush to atoms the bodies of the wretched fanatics but the victims believe that, Jagannath will receive them as children and recall them to life in a state of happiness and dignity.”⁶⁹

During the Mughal period, the Raja of Khurda was the superintendent of the temple of Jagannath and played vital role in this Car festival. It was his duty to see that, the festivals of lord Jagannath were performed rightly or not. Besides the Ratha yatra, many other festivals related to Jagannatha like *Chandan Yatra*,⁷⁰ *Jhulan Yatra*,⁷¹ *Snan Yatra*(bathing ceremony) and *Navakalabara*⁷²were also observed in Mughal Orissa.

Raja Samkranti:

Raja samkranti was another popular festival of the Mughal Orissa. It was celebrated in the beginning of Asadha by the people of Orissa and continued for three days. The people of Orissa believed that, the mother earth like ordinary women undergoes a menstrual days during this period. So, they did not plough and dug their land during these days but saw the paddy in their agricultural plots after the Raja Samkranti.⁷³ The young and unmarried girls did not eat salt and cereals during the period of this festival but they enjoyed it by swinging and singing a typical raja song in duet and played *Bagudi* (country side games).⁷⁴ In this occasion, a special cake known as *Podapitha* are prepared in every house with the combination of rice, flour, jaggery, ghee, ginger and coconut.

⁶⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.52.

⁶⁹ Bernier, ‘*Travels in the Mogul Empire(AD.1656-1668)*’, op.cit., pp. 304-305.

⁷⁰ Das, Arjun, *Kalpalata*, op.cit., p.83.

⁷¹ Jhulan Yatra was the swing ceremony of Lord Jagannatha, Cf. *Madalapanji*, op.cit., p.33. See also B.B. Jena, ‘*Orissa, People, Culture and Polity*, New Delhi, 1980, p. 120.

⁷² It was celebrated once in twelve year, in which new idols of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra was built from the Neem wood. These received special worship, Even during the Mughal period in 1665 A.D. it was observed, Cf. *The Samaj*, (Oriya), Cuttack, Thursday edition, 30th April, 2015. p.14.

⁷³ *Orissa Review*, Vol- XXXIX, No-5, December, (1982), p.19.

⁷⁴ K.B, Das and L.K. Mahapatra, ‘*Folklore of Orissa*’, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 102-103.

Sravana Purnima:

During the Mughal period, the farmers of Orissa celebrated the birth day of lord Balarama in the full moon day of the month Sravan⁷⁵ known as Sravana purnima. On this occasion, the people of Orissa worshiped lord Balarama, cows, the plough and other ploughing equipments. Even cows and cattle are decorated with flowers and offered special foods.⁷⁶

Another festival observed by the people of Mughal Orissa in the same month was **Rakhipurnima**. It was the custom of tying of a piece of lace by sister around the wrist of their brothers and seeks protection at the time of danger. This also strengthened the love and affection between brother and sister.⁷⁷ During the time of Akbar, this custom was quite common⁷⁸ and Jahangir used to call it *nigah-dasht*.⁷⁹

Sivaratri:

Sivaratri was another festival observed by the people of Orissa during the period under review. It falls on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Magha.⁸⁰ On this night the devotees of lord Siva observed fasting and passed the night in vigil.⁸¹ They also offered many kinds flower to Siva and washed Siva *linga* with milk. The Siva temples throughout the Orissa were decorated on this occasion.

Ganesh puja:

Ganesh the son of Siva and Parvati was also worshiped in Orissa during the Mughal period. The Ganesh Chaturthi was fall on the fourth day in the bright fortnight of Bhadrava.⁸² On this day, lord Ganesa (the elephant headed god) is worshiped by the people of Orissa irrespective of their sex and age. A ball shaped sweet called *Ladu* (rasiladu) is offered to him. The legends related to Siva, Parvati and

⁷⁵ Sravana is the fourth month of Oriya Calender.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.103.

⁷⁷ 'Odishara Parbaparbani, Oshabrata, Janiyatra', ed., Braja Mohan Mohanty, Cuttack, 1979, pp.62-65

⁷⁸ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs., H. Blochmann, Bib. Ind, Delhi, 1989(reprint), Vol-I, p.193.

⁷⁹ Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, op.cit., p.119.

⁸⁰ Abul Fazl is of the opinion that the Sivaratri falls on the fourteenth of the dark fortnight of Phalgun. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.150; Magha is the tenth month in Oriya calendar whereas Phalgun comes after Magha.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.150; See also *Sarala Mahabharata*, Drona, op.cit., p.56.

⁸² Bhadrava is the fifth month in Oriya Calender.

Ganesa are recited on this occasion. The puja ends with the immersion of the image in a river or water tank.⁸³

Durgapuja or Dussehra:

Durgapuja or Dussehra was celebrated with great joy in the Mughal Orissa. It was observed from the 8th day of the bright fortnight in the month of Ashwin.⁸⁴ It is celebrated for ten days. During this occasion, goddess Durga is worshiped, who has symbolize the triumph of good over evil as she killed Mahisasura (a buffalo faced demon) in the mid night of the ninth day of this festival and the tenth day is celebrated as Vijaydashami or Dussehra.⁸⁵ On this day, all the workers like Blacksmiths, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Barbers, Scriber etc venerate their tools and begin their new professional year.⁸⁶

Kumarpurnima:

Another festival observed by the people of Orissa during the period of our discussion was *Kumarpurnima*. It was celebrated on the full moon day of Ashwin.⁸⁷ On this day Goddess Laxmi(the Goddess of wealth and prosperity) is worshiped. The Oriya people wears new clothes and spent the night, in marry making and playing dice.⁸⁸ It was observed by all the young and unmarried girls in order to achieve a young and handsome husband. They worshiped lord *Kartikeya* and decorate *chaura* of goddess Brundavati.⁸⁹

Deepavali:

Deepavali was also observed pompously in Orissa during the Mughal period. It falls on the fifteenth day of Kartika.⁹⁰ It is believed by the Hindus that, on this day lord Krishna killed Narakasura(a demon) with the help of the black Goddess Kali. So the Goddess Kali is also worshiped as per the Tantrik rites and rituals in this occasion.⁹¹ The people of Orissa mostly offer *Sradhapinda* (oblation of rice cakes) to their deceased ancestors to get the well-wishes from the departed souls of the family

⁸³ Odisara Parbaparani Oshabrata Janijatra, op.cit., pp. 66-68.

⁸⁴ Rath, Dinabandhu, *Sarala Mahabharatare Samajika Jeevana* , Cuttack, 1974, p.328.

⁸⁵ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.149.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.149.

⁸⁷ Aswina is the sixth month in the Oriya Calender.

⁸⁸ Rath, 'Sarala Mahabharatare Samajika Jeevana' , op. cit., p.329.

⁸⁹ *Orissa Review*, Vol-XXXIX, No.5, December, 1982, p.18.

⁹⁰ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.III, p.149.

⁹¹ The images of DakshinaKali, BasantaKali, Bhadrakali etc were found in Orissa at different Sakta pitha during the period under review, Cf. 'Socio-Economic Life in Medieval Orissa' op.cit., p.83.

for their good fortune. So, they decorated their houses with Deepas (lamps) as the Muhammadan festival of Shab-i-barat.⁹² Fireworks are other features of this festival. The Vashiya class (businessman) of Orissa opens new account books and begins their new commercial year on this day.⁹³

Ashokastami:

Ashokastami was celebrated in Orissa during the period under review. It falls on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of the Chaitra month⁹⁴. On this day, a substitute of Siva was carried to a temple of Rama by a *Rukuna Ratha*(car) where it remained for a few days and received worship then brought back to the main temple.⁹⁵ The centre of this festival was the Lingaraja temple. On this day, the Ashoka tree which held as sacred worshiped by the women of Orissa.

Prathamashami:

The *Prathamashami* was one of the popular festivals celebrated by the people of Orissa during the Mughal period. It falls on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of month of Margasira. It was a family festival celebrated in favour of the first born child (whether boy or girl). On this occasion, the first born child is given new clothes and feed by delicious dishes then blessed by the parents and other elderly persons. Again during this occasion, *Bandapana* are offered to God Ganapati to protect the child against all hurdles in life.⁹⁶

Dolapurnima and Holi:

The Dolapurnima was the popular festival of the Vaishnavites in Orissa during the period under review. It begins on the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the Phalguna and ends on the full moon day. On this occasion, the Vaishnavites of Orissa worshipped Radha-Krishna. The devotees came in a procession with small wooden images of Radha and Krishna carried in the *Vimanas* (palanques of the God) to the site of the fair. The deities in their ways visited several villages on their outing and receiving homage and offerings from the devotees.⁹⁷

⁹² *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.149.

⁹³ '*Odishara Parbaparbani Oshabrata Janiyatra*', op.cit., pp.112-115.

⁹⁴ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit.,Vol.III, p.148.

⁹⁵ '*Literature and Social Life in Medieval Orissa*', op.cit., pp.72-73.

⁹⁶ '*Folklore of Orissa*', op.cit., p.106.

⁹⁷ '*Folklore of Orissa*', op.cit., p.89.

The fifteenth of this month was observed as **Holi**.⁹⁸ On this day, the people of Orissa throw different colored powder (abir) upon each other and indulged in merriment.⁹⁹

Besides the above mentioned festivals, the people of Orissa also observed many Oshas and Bratas viz., *Khudurkuni Osha*, *Chaiti Mangalabar Osha*, *Somanath Brata* etc during the period under review. So far the Osha is concerned, the young unmarried girls celebrated the *Khudurkuni Osha* in the month of Bhadarva during the period under review. They had faith that, if they worshiped Goddess Mangala (Goddess of welfare) in every Sunday of this month by offering her Khuda (broken rice), she will clear all their hurdles. They also recited a story of Taa-poi on this occasion.¹⁰⁰ Savitri Brata was another popular faith of the married women of the Mughal Orissa. It falls on the new moon of Jeshta. The faith of the women of Orissa was that, if they observed this Brata (fasting) the God of death (Yama) will be pleased and allow long life to their husband.¹⁰¹ They also observed the *Somanath Brata* on the tenth of the bright fortnight of Aswina with the faith that, the lord Somanath will grant them all their desires, prosperity, happiness and good health to their family and the children.¹⁰²

Muslim Festivals:

Islam being a puritanical religion has only two canonical festivals namely Id-ul-fitre and Id-ul-Azha but the Muslims of Orissa as other parts of India observed a number of festivals according to the Islamic calendar like *Muharram*, *Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi*, *Shab-i-Barat*, *Id-ul-fitre*, *Id-ul-Azha* during the Mughal period.

Muharram:

Muharram is the first month of the Islamic calendar. The first ten days of this month have been observed as days of mourning and grief by the Muslims in commemoration of the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Hussain (second grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H)). During the Mughal period, Muslims of Orissa also

⁹⁸ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.150; Holika is said to be the name of a female Rakshasi (demon) who was killed and burnt by Siva on this day. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, H.S. Jarrett, New Delhi, 1978, Vol.III, p.353f.n.

⁹⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp. 150.

¹⁰⁰ *Folklore of Orissa*, op.cit., p.106.

¹⁰¹ B.B Jena, 'Orissa, People, Culture and Polity', op. cit., pp.138-139.

¹⁰² Janaki Ballabha Mohanty, *Somnath Brata Katha*, Cuttack, 1976, pp.1-5.

observed Muharram and took out Taziya procession,¹⁰³ which was accompanied with *Akharas* displaying their feat with swords, scimitar, and lathi.¹⁰⁴ At some places, Hindu also joined in this procession. The Taziya procession in Orissa was influenced by that of the Rathayatra or Durgapuja procession of the Hindus. This Muharram procession was finally reaching to a field which was named as *Imambada* or *Karbala* like that of actual Karbala of Persia. On the tenth day of this month the rich Muslims of Orissa gave charities to the poor and needy.¹⁰⁵

Id-i-Milad-un-Nabi:

Id-i-Milad-un-Nabi (Birth anniversary Prophet Muhammad) was observed by the Muslims of Orissa during the period of our discussion. It was observed on the twelfth of *Rabi-ul-Awwal* (Third Islamic Month). On this occasion public buildings, houses and mosques were illuminated, the poor and orphans were feed.¹⁰⁶ At some places, the Oriya Muslims came out in procession, reciting the phrases of admiration of the holy Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H).

Shab-i-Barat:

Another important festival observed by the Muslims of Orissa during the Mughal period was *Shab-i-Barat* (the night of records). It was observed on the fourteenth night of the Shaban. There are references of this festival in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Shahjahan Nama*.¹⁰⁷ The Muslims believed that, on this night Allah(God) registers the actions of men and dispenses their fate according to their deeds. So, the orthodox Muslims spent this night in offering prayer and seeking forgiveness of God. The mosques and houses of the Muslims were illuminated with lamps whereas the unorthodox Muslims celebrated this night by the show of fire-work.¹⁰⁸

Id-ul-fitr :

It is the most popular festival of the Muslims. This festival marked the end of the holy month of Ramazan (the month of fasting). There are many references of

¹⁰³ Taziya was the replica of the martyrs tomb at Karbala, beautifully made with paper and bamboo. A horse representing Imam Hussain's horse (Duldul) was also made by colourful papers and bamboo Cf. Mohammad Umar, '*Islam in Northern India During the Eighteen Century*'(1707-1806), Delhi, 1993, p.420.

¹⁰⁴ *Socio-Economic Life in Medieval Orissa*, op. cit., p.96. See also *Festival of India*, p.11.

¹⁰⁵ Srivastava, M.P, '*Society and Culture in Medieval India*'(1206-1707), Allahabad,1975, p.110.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.,

¹⁰⁷ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.149; Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, ed. W.E. Begley, New York, 1990, p.274.

¹⁰⁸ Thevenot, '*Travels of into the Levant Monsieur de Thevenot*, London, 1687, part-III, p.31.

celebration of this festival by the Mughal Padshahs in the contemporary Persian sources that Inayat Khan gives a detail account about the celebration of Id-ul-fitr by emperor Shahjahan.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, this festival was celebrated with great rejoicing by the Muslims of Orissa during the period under review. On this occasion, the Muslims of Orissa wore new clothes, offered prayer at the mosque and *Idgha*, gave alms to the poor and sent sweet dishes to their relatives.

Id-ul-Zuha:

Another important festival celebrated by the Muslims of Orissa under the Mughal rule was *Id-ul-zuha*. It falls on the 10th day of Zil-hijah (the twelfth month of the Islamic calendar). The history of this festival goes back to the Prophet Ibrahim and his son Ismail. On this occasion, the Muslims offered prayer in the mosque and *Idgha* and gave *Qurbaani* (animal sacrifice). It has mentioned as *Id-ul-Qurban* at many places in the Shahjahan Nama of Inayat Khan.¹¹⁰

Besides these, the Muslims of Orissa also observed *Sab-i-Qadr* (the night of power) and *Sab-i-Mairaj* during the Mughal period. On the occasion of both the festival, the Muslims of Orissa as other Muslims offered extra prayer and observed night vigils. The Muslims of Orissa also observed *Nauroz* (the Iranian spring festival) which was started by Akbar and celebrated by his nobility both Hindus and Muslims.¹¹¹ This festival continues for three weeks. Badaoni calls it *Nauroz-i-Jalali*. This festival was also celebrated by Jahangir.¹¹² Even the celebration of it was continued till the early period of Aurangzeb Alamgir.

Religious syncretism:

Except the small orthodox section both the Hindus and Muslims of Orissa were participating in each other's festivals without inhibition during the Mughal period. On the occasion of Diwali, the Hindus illuminated their houses and huts like that of Shab-i-barat of the Muslims.¹¹³ The Muslims of Orissa particularly of rural area illuminated their houses and took part in gambling to celebrate the Diwali festival like

¹⁰⁹ On the day of *Id- ul -Azha*, Shahjahan paid a visit to the Idgah of Shahjahanabad and after prayer bestowed the robes of honour to the nobles as custom. Cf. *Shahjahan Nama*, op.cit., pp.510,530.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 124,151,244.

¹¹¹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, trs.,H.Blochmann, op.cit., Vol.I, p.192.

¹¹² *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit., p.22.

¹¹³ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.149.

the Muslims of Bengal and Awadh.¹¹⁴ Similarly, the Hindus did not hesitate to join the Taziya procession of Muharram of Muslims in Orissa.¹¹⁵ The religious syncretism of the people of Orissa can better be understood from a unique tradition of the *Satya-pir* cult¹¹⁶ in which both the Hindus and the Muslims of this region venerated a common deity. M.A. Haq holds the view that, the word Satyapir is the combination of Sanskrit word Satya (truth) and Persian word Pir (Muslim saints), it was a non-communal affair as a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity in Orissa.¹¹⁷ The Satyapir cult began in Orissa when Shujauddin Mohammad Khan was the Subhadar of Orissa.¹¹⁸ A palm leaf manuscript known as *Khuda Prasna* or '*Pir-Sahib Prasna*' written in Oriya gives references of the veneration of the Muslim Pirs by the Hindus of Orissa.¹¹⁹

The majority of the Hindus of Orissa during the Mughal period had faith in Pirs (Muslim Saints). There are many tombs and shrines of the Pirs in different parts of Orissa, which belonged to the Mughal period. The people of various communities venerated the saints and celebrated the Urs (Death anniversary) of Pir. The famous Pir shrines in Orissa during the Mughal period are the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine, tomb of Hazrat Saiyyad Ali Bokhari¹²⁰ (inside the Barabati fort) in Cuttack, Saiyyad Jallaluddin Bukhari of Kaipadar,¹²¹ Hazrat Makhdum Jahania Jahangast of Astarag, Hazrat Saiyyad Sultan of Pipli, Hazrat Darya Shah Bokhari of Jajpur, Hazrat Saiyyad Ahmed Saiyed of Chandbali,¹²² Hazrat Saiyyad Shah Zamman Jannati,¹²³ Mughal Shah, Darbar Shah, Pahlwan Shah, Barham Chhadak Shah, Dewan Shah, Mansoor Shah, Qalandar Shah of Bhadrak, Saiyyad Barkhan Gazi, Abdur Rasool, Saiyyad Jamal Shah and Bhujakhiya pir of Balasore.

¹¹⁴ Mannuci describes that the nawabs of Bengal and Awadh celebrated the Diwali festival in the royal fashion, Cf., *Storio Do Mogor* or *The Mughal India*, trs., William Irvine, London, 1907, Vol-II, p.5.

¹¹⁵ *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-XLVIII, No.1, 2005, pp.108-109.

¹¹⁶ *Folklore of Orissa*, op.cit., p.17.

¹¹⁷ Haq, M.A., '*Muslim Administration of Orissa*', Calcutta, 1989, p.250.

¹¹⁸ Mishra, K., *Utkal Itihasa*, Cuttack, 1933, p.226.

¹¹⁹ *Khuda-Prasna Palm leaf Manuscript*, Manuscript Section, No.21, Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.

¹²⁰ Hazrat Saiyyad Ali Bokhari was a Muslim saint whose real name is Saiyyad Shamsuddin Bokhari. Who had accompanied the Mughal general Munim Khan and Todarmal against Daud Karrani during the time of Orissa Conquest. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.123.

¹²¹ *Odisha District Gazetteers*- Puri, ed., N. Senapati, 1978, op.cit., p.674.

¹²² The Persian document (MS) of the seventeenth century of the Mughal Qanungo Jaikishan preserved with the Mazawer (in charge of Dargha) which named the saint as Saiyyad Ahmed Saiyed. See Plate No. 66; for the photo of the tomb of Saiyyad Ahmed, see Plate No. 77.

¹²³ Saiyyad Shah Zamman Jannati was the saint of the Madari Silsila and disciple of Zinda Shah Madar of Makhampur of Uttarpradesh, Abul Fazl mentioned about Zinda Shah Madar under the title of Badiuddin, Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.III, p.173.

These shrines of the Muslim saints throughout Orissa bear testimony to high adoration they commanded in the Mughal period and now, both Hindus and Muslims of Orissa had deep faith in the miracles and supernatural power of these saints. So, whenever they faced problems in their day to day life like diseases, sorrow and pain. They came to the tombs of these Pirs, to overcome their problems.¹²⁴ Whenever their wishes were fulfilled, they again came to the tombs of the Pir, to pay homage and offered Chadar (grave clothe), flowers, sandal paste, Gulabjal and Sirni. On the occasion of anniversary of these saints, the crowds of people from distant parts flock thither, and recited praises of the saints. Moreover, the rituals and rites of these *dargahs* of these Pirs of Orissa has largely been influenced by the local Hindu practices during the Mughal period and now such as the offering of Chadar (grave clothe) to the Pir, putting of Sanja Charag (evening lamp), offering of flowers, Sandal paste, Gulabjal and Sirni (like that of Prasad) and Beating of drum on the special occasion near the *Astanas* of the pirs and the like.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Braja Mohan was cured from a serious ill by the bliss of Bhujakhiyapir of Balasore and renamed as Fakir Mohan, Cf. '*Atma-Jiban Charita*' by Fakir Mohan Senapati, Cuttack, 1962, p.7f.

¹²⁵ Sk.Abdul Gaffar Ali "*Some Forgotten Pir-Astanas of the Mughal period in Odisha*" in *Proceedings of Odisha History Congress*, XXXIII, Berhampur,(January),2012. p.112.

Chapter-V

Development in Language and Literature

The origin of Oriya language is very old but there is a controversy regarding the period of its origin. According to some scholars, the Oriya language belongs to the language of the Indo-Aryan family of Eastern group,¹ which comes under *Apabhramasa*. Some other scholars are of the opinion that, the Oriya language has originated as a branch of Magadhi similarly as Assame, Bengali and Mithili.² The *Natyashastra* of Bharata and the *Prakrtasarvasva* of Markanda Das³ describes *Odra* (Oriya) language as a '*Vibhasa*' means the corruption of a dialect which might have arisen out of the mixture of Sanskrit and indigenous elements in Orissa. But some modern scholars like M.M. Chakravati and A.C. Mithal views that the earliest extent of the Oriya language goes to the fourteenth century and opines that the earliest mention of Oriya words are found in the inscription of Narasimha Deva-II and King Narasimha Deva-IV⁴ but regional scholar K.B. Tripathy traces the origin of Oriya script from the acute angle script of the Gupta period in Orissa.⁵ He also referenced the use of Oriya words like *Ghoiri*, *Khata*, *Bhaga*, *Kheta* etc. in the Hindol plate of Subhakara-III and the Talcher plate of Sivakara-III of Bhauma dynasty in the ninth century A.D.⁶ Similarly several sanskrit words have been found in the inscriptions of the Bhauma written in Oriya pronunciation such as '*Pausa*' (Pusya) *Lavanabhara* (lonabhara) '*Varhasptlya*' (varihaspalya), '*Usvattha*' (Asvattha) and '*Pruthi*' (Prthvi)⁷ etc. There are many epigraphic records and inscriptions of the eleventh century which contains Oriya words such as the stone image inscription at Gandhibeda (Grahapada)⁸ and Inscription of Anantavarman Vajrahasta.⁹ Although the references of the Oriya

¹ G.A Grierson, '*Linguistic Survey of India*', Varanasi, 1967, Vol.V, Part-II, p. 368.

² Ibid., Part -I, p. 4.

³ Acharya, P., *Studies in Orissan History, Archaeology and Archives*, Cuttack, 1969, p. 162; M. Man Singh, '*Oriya Sahitya Itihas*', New Delhi, 1962, p. 16.

⁴ J.A.S.B., Vol, LXXVI, part-1, no.4 (1897), p. 318; See also A.C. Mithal, - '*A Early History of Orissa (from earliest time up to first century B.C.)*', Varanasi, 1962, p.63.

⁵ K.B. Tripathy, *Evolution of Oriya Language and script*, Cuttack, 1962, Chapter-IV, p. 37.

⁶ Bishwarup Das, '*Bhaumakaras- the Buddhist kings of Orissa and their Times*', New Delhi, 1978, p. 169.

⁷ '*Bhaumakaras- the Buddhist kings of Orissa and their Times*', op .cit., p.169.

⁸ The Oriya Inscription on a stone image of Grahapada, Which refers thus- '*Deva-Kahi Bhagati Karunabho*' and '*Chanti bho Kumara sena*'. Cf. *O.H.R.J.* Vol-III (July 1953), No.2, p. 21

⁹ The earliest Oriya record which is known to us is the inscription of Anantavarmana Vajrahasta, the king of Kalinga dated 1051 A.D. Cf. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVII, (1931), p.175, See also K.B. Tripathy, *Evolution of Oriya Language and script*, op.cit., p. 25.

words and script has traced in the inscriptions before the fourteen century but it took its correct shape only in the fourteen century that during the period of 14th century, Oriya script, words, grammar, idioms, Phraseology, poetic, diction and the writing of the prose have set forth.¹⁰ Even during the fourteenth century Narasimha Deva-IV issued a copper plate inscription in Oriya and Oriya was also used in the stone inscription of Kapilas temple in Dhenkanal district.¹¹

However the development of Oriya language and literature was passed through several phases. The early phase of Oriya literature was divided in three stages like.,

1. *Loka Sahitya* (folk literature)
2. *Likhita Sahitya* (written literature).
3. *Abhilekha Satiya* (Epigraphic literature)

1. Loka Sahitya (folk Literature):

The folk literature generally is the literature of the local masses and survives in the lips of the local populace as '*lokagita*' (folk song) and '*Loka katha*' (folk tales). It was the beginning of literary activity of every language. So far Oriya is concerned it was also developed by the country side songs and stories before the inception of written literature.¹² There were many *lokagita* (folk song) in Orissa which were sang by the people in the festive occasion and in the fairs as the Cart song, Snake charmer song, Patua song, Chaiti horse song, Karama song and Dola song, whereas the folk tale was generally narrated as stories by the village elders in the evening times to the villagers, which includes the tale of fairy, angels, ghosts, demons, kings, queens, birds and animals. Thus these tales and songs also mould the characteristics of Oriya literatures and prepared base for its development in the succeeding ages.¹³

2. Likhita Sahitya (written literature):

The next phase of the growth of Oriya literature was the *likhita Sahitya* (written literature) that, during the first half of the twelfth century some Chariya songs were composed in Oriya by the Siddhas(Buddhist scholar), to preach their doctrines to

¹⁰ Das M.N., *Sidelights on History and Culture of Orissa*, Cuttack, 1977, Ch.VII, p.201.

¹¹ E.I, XXXIII, pp.41-43; I.O. Vol-V, part.I, no.90, pp.136-137.

¹² K.B. Das, '*Oriya folk song and tale*' (Oriya), Santiniketan, 1958, p. 5.

¹³ B.C. Acharya, '*Oriya Sahitya Sankhitya Parichaya*', Cuttack, 1975, p.54.

the people of Orissa like ‘*Baudha-Gana-o-Doha*’¹⁴ and published under the caption ‘*Charya-charya-Vinischaya*’.¹⁵ Further the Siddhas of Orissa named Bhusukupa, Kanhupa, Luipa and Sabaripa also composed a number of Chariya Songs in Oriya. Luipa’s famous song – *ka Tarubara*, written in the raga ‘*pattamanjari*’ is the best example of that. The Lupa’s poem *Ka Tarubara* is as follows:

Ka tarubara pancha bi dala
Chanchala chie paithe kala,
Didha karia mahasuha parimana
Lui bhanai Guru puchhia jana,
Saula samahia Kahi kariai
Sukha dukhete nichita mariayi,
Ehi eu chhandak bandha karan kapatara asa
Sunupatha bhiti lehure pasa,
Bhanai Lui amahe jhana ditha
*Dhaman Chaman beni pindi baitha.*¹⁶

Next to the Siddhas, the Natha literature was a noteworthy phase in the growth of Oriya literatures. They contributed a lot for the development of Oriya language and literatures by writing a number of works in Oriya from eleventh to twelfth century. It has been pointed out that, the *Nathas* were the harbingers of modernity in Oriya language and literature.¹⁷ The theory of *Pinda-Brahmanda* (Microcosm and Macrocosm) was the noteworthy contribution of the *Nathas* to Oriya literature. Another milestone in the development of Oriya language and literature was *Sisuvada*

¹⁴ *Baudha songs and dohas* -The manuscripts was first discovered by Maha mahopadhyaya Hara prasad Sastri from Nepal court library in 1907 and it was published by *Bangiya Sahitya Parishadin*, 1916.

¹⁵ K.S. Mohapatra, *Charya Gitika* (Oriya), op.cit., p.18.

¹⁶ The means of the poem *ka tarubara* is that “The body is like a tree that has five branches (five sense organs). The time enters into a restless mind. Therefore make the mind strong and experience great happiness (*mahasuha*), take the advice of Guru to know this. Why go to trances when one is sure to die in weal and woe, Therefore give up external rites and body’s decorations and take the road to the ways of emptiness (*sunnya*).” Cf. *History of Oriya Literature* by J.M.Mohanty, Bhubneswar, 2006, pp.14-17.

¹⁷ M. Man Singh, *Oriya Sahitya Itihas*, op. cit. p. 1982, p. 59.

of Gorakha natha written in 11th century,¹⁸ which is replete with the use of Oriya words and language rather than *Apabhramsa* of the previous era.¹⁹ It is also sheds light on the growth and development of Oriya prose.²⁰ The *Amarakosa*²¹ and *Machhendra Gita* are two other works of Natha cult written mainly in the poetical narration, which are the indicative of the growth of the Oriya poetical composition. *Gorakha Gita* of Chandra Sekhar Ratha is another important work of the Natha creed in Oriya (which describes about teaching of Gorakhanatha). Thus the Natha literature has made its unique contribution in the evolution of Oriya language and literature.

Subsequent to the Nathas, the Saiva also contributed a lot in the evolution of Oriya literature by writing their works in Oriya language between the 13th and 14th centuries. The main works of the Saiva are '*Rudrasudhanidhi*' and '*Somanatha Vrate Katha*'. These Saivite works are the prose narration. So the Saivas developed the prose style of writing in Oriya literature.

3. Abhilekha Sahitya (Epigraphic literature):

The next phase of the development of Oriya language and literature is the epigraphic literatures that before the Suryavamsi Gajapatis, many inscriptions were written in Oriya language like, The Kapilas temple inscriptions and Siddheswara inscription of Narsimha Deva -IV, Konark temple Inscription, Sonapur Inscriptions of Bhanudeva and the Oriya Inscription of Simhachalam temple. These epigraphic records marked the evolution of Oriya language, script and of the advancement of Oriya prose.²²

Thus it was through the sectarian zeal of the Sahajiyas, Nathas and Saivas that Oriya language and literature was thrived and developed prior to Suryavamsi rule. But a solid base of Oriya language and literature was formed by beginning of Suryavamsi rule, particularly of Kapilendra Deva in the first half of the 15th century and with the advent of Sarala Das.

¹⁸ Acharya B.C, '*Oriya Sahitya Sankhipta Parichaya*', op.cit, p. 40.

¹⁹ Mohanty B.D, '*Odisha Natha Sampradaya O Natha Sahitya*', Cuttack, 1979, p. 214.

²⁰ Mishra B, '*Medieval Orissa and cult of Jagannath*', op.cit., p.183.

²¹ *Amarakosa* literary means immortal bags, it refers to five bags or containers within which like a sword in the sheath, the body is kept. These kosa are *Anna kosa*(bag of food), *Pranamaya kosa*(bag of sense organs), *Manomaya kosa*(bag of mind or self) *Bijnamaya kosa*(bag of intelligence or learning), and *Anandamaya kosa*(bag of happiness or material satisfaction), Cf. Mohanty, J.M, '*History Of Oriya Literature*', Bhubaneswar, 2006, p.18.

²² *Evolution of Oriya Language and script*, op. cit, chapter-I,II, p.16ff.

The age of Sarala Das :

During the fifteenth century Sanskrit was predominant in Orissa and received the royal patronage but the advent of Sarala Das²³ ushered a new phase in the history of Oriya literature. He wrote his celebrated work 'Mahabharata' in Oriya known popularly as 'Sarala Mahabharata' in *Dandivritta* style.²⁴ He also wrote *Vilanka Ramayana*,²⁵ *Chandi Purana*²⁶ and *Lakhmi Narayan Vachanika* in Oriya, which gives a vivid description of the society of Orissa with allusion of Kapilendra.²⁷ Sarala Das has been regarded as the Adi kavi of Oriya literature because he wielded his pen not for the sake of any material gain, fame or kingly favours but to establish Oriya literature on sound footing and to demonstrate the value of Oriya language. His contribution for the evolution of the Oriya literature is remarkable.

The Age of Panchasakha:

After Sarala Das, the growth of Oriya language and literature held by the 'Panchasakha' (which refers to the five Vaishnava poets like Balaram Das, Jagannatha Das, Achyutanand Das, Yasovanta Das and Ananta Das), who were flourishing during the 16th century, although they born in different part of Orissa but choose 'Puri' as their place of activities. Even, they were collaborators and friends.²⁸ All the member of the Panchasakha had contributed their mite for the development of Oriya language and literature by writing many works and translating popular Sanskrit works in Oriya language. The writings of the Panchasakha may be grouped under two heads like- Puranic works and Sadhana works.²⁹ The Puranas like Ramayana and Bhagavata were rendered into the Oriya language during this age. The Sadhana works were pre-eminently religious in nature viz., Gita, Samhita, Bhajana, Malika, Mahataya and Samvada etc.³⁰

²³ Sarala Das's real name was Siddheswar Parida, born in the village of Jhankad (Cuttack). He was an agriculturist Sudra for which he is often called as Sudra muni, Cf. P. Mukherjee, *The History of Medieval Vaishnavism in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1946, p.74.

²⁴ It is a style of writing in which number of letter uniformly in every line of stanza. Cf. *Sarala Mahabharata*, Adiparva, part-I, op.cit., p.4.

²⁵ It is also called as Bichitra Ramayana, Sarala took its structure from the later part of Valmiki's Ramayan and begins with the banishment of sita in the valmiki's hermitage and ends with Sita's entry into earth in Rama's court and final account of Rama's end of material life, Cf. Mohanty J.M, *History Of Oriya Literature*, op.cit., p.27.

²⁶ The Chandi purana gives the account of Goddess Durga's victory over Mahisa sura.

²⁷ Sarala Das, 'Sarala Mahabharata', ed. A.B. Mohanty, Adiparva, part-I, op.cit., p.4.

²⁸ Chittaranjan Das, 'Balaram Das, Sahitya Akademy, Delhi, 1982, p.11.

²⁹ Konark (Oriya), *Panchasakha Visesanka*, Cuttack, 1971, p-III, p. 116.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 244.

Among the Panchasakha, **Balaram Das** wrote many work in Oriya viz., the Jagamohana Ramayana,³¹ Brahma Gita (Secret Gita), Vedantasara Gupta Gita (Essence of Vedanta) Amara kosa Gita (Immortal Container Gita), Virata Gita (Vast Gita), Diptisara Gita (Essence of Enlightenment), Manu Gita (Desirable Gita), Gita (Translation of Bhagbat Gita), Bhava Samudra (Sea of Faith),³² Bata Abakasha (The Leisurely Hours at the Banyan Tree),³³ Brahmanda Bhugol (The Geography of the Universe), Jnana chudamani (about knowledge), Laxmi purana (Tell of Laxmi), Mruguni Stuti (The prayers of the Deer), Devi Malasri,³⁴ Beddha Parikrama (Rounding the God's Enclosure), Kanta koili (Koili peom), Kamal Lochana chautisa, Bhajan, Rasa Keali, Krishna lila, Ramavibha, Durga Stuti, Bhaktisamrita Sindhu, Sabha Vinoda, Saptanga Yoga Sanatika, Sarira Bhogala, Ganesha Vibhuti, Vata-Avakash, Jnana Chudamani, Vaula Adhyaya, Brahmajnaana-Ekakhyara and Siddharta Dambaru³⁵ etc. He also translated some of the famous Sanskrit works into Oriya like the Chandi Purana, Brahma Purana and Kurala Purana. His works in Oriya were of high adoration and merit and proved a milestone for the development of Oriya language and literature.

Ativadi Jagannatha Das:

The poet Jagannath Das was one of the luminaries of the Panchasakha group and famed as Ativadi. He contributed a lot for the development of Oriya language and literature by writing a number of works in Oriya like Gundicha Bije (The Gundicha procession),³⁶ Saivagama Bhagabat (Saiva Bhagbat) Sola Choupadi (sixteen chaupadi),³⁷ Sri Nama Chandrika (The Glory Of the name) Anamaya Kundali (the nameless circle), Bhugolo Ekadasa Skanda (The Geography of the eleventh Skanda), Brahma Gita, Gupta Gita, Daru Brahma Gita (The Gita of the god's wooden image), Tulabhina (To Spin cotton), Arthakoili (Explaining Koili), Panchabhuti Gita (The Gita of five vital Elements), Chhadarasa Bhagabat, Nitya Niladri Vilas (Daily Rituals at

³¹ Though the frame work of the theme of Jagamohan Ramayana comes from the epics of Valmiki but its whole setting is Orissa and its poetic appeal is also of Oriya. Cf. Chittaranjan Das, 'Balaram Das', op.cit., p. 30.

³² It deals with general devotion to God.

³³ It describes about the miraculous power of Sri Jagannath.

³⁴ Malasri is a short poem of prayer (Bhajana) composed in ancient musical raga to Goddess Durga, a mix of Sakta dharma with Vaishnavite Ideas.

³⁵ S. N. Das, 'Oriya Sahitya Itihas', op.cit., p.455.

³⁶ It is related to the procession at the time of car festival of lord Jagannath.

³⁷ It is the book of sixteen songs written in simple language in different ragas, related to the knowledge about Brahma Jnana and Vaisnavite practices.

Nilardi), *Mruguni stuti*,³⁸ *Pahanti Abakasa* (Morning Song), *Phulatola* (Plucking of flowers), *Hati Jhulain Re* (The Elephant Swings), *Usha Harana* (abducting Usha) and *Satrang Varnana*³⁹ etc. He also translated the *Bhagabat Gita* into Oriya through an elegant style in the sixteenth century during the reign of Prataprudra Deva,⁴⁰ which has regarded as the back bone of Oriya literature and sheds light on the spiritual life of Orissa.

Achyutananda Das:

He was the most prolific writer of Oriya literature among the Panchasakha poets. He has composed *Harivansa* and also wrote a large number of poems, short stories, *Samhita*, *Gita*, *Rahas*, *Bhajans*, *Janana*, *Mallikas*⁴¹ in Oriya language, which has mentions in his Ankar Samhita.⁴² His works are extremely popular all over Orissa. His story of Radha-Krishan lila in Oriya has occupied a prominent place in the history of Oriya literature.⁴³ Another important work of Achyutananda is '*Sunya Samhita*' in which, the poet highlights the social, spiritual and cultural trend of the Medieval Orissa.⁴⁴ Some of his works which has published later are, *charikhani* (Four segments), *Anakar Samhita* (formless samhita), *Abada Samhita* (unrestricted Samhita), *Nitya Rahas* (perpetual Rahas), *Gurubhakti Gita* (Devotion to Guru), *Sunnya Gita*, *Manibandha Gita* (The wristband Gita), *Sabada* (The Words), *Adi Brahma Gita* (The Primal Brahma Gita), *Asta Gujjari* (Eight Gujjaris), *Chaurasi Jantra* (Eighty four Jantra), *Sisu Veda*, *Gopalanka Olgala*⁴⁵ (The songs of the Cowherds).

³⁸ It is the prayer of the She deer to God to come to rescue at the time of calamity.

³⁹ Acharya B.C, '*Oriya Sahitya Sankhitya Parichaya*', op.cit, p. 110.

⁴⁰ Konark (Oriya), op. cit, p. 171.

⁴¹ Malika is the sayings for the future and the things to come, along with references by implication to Socio-historical conditions of the time and the devotional submission to Sri Jagannath..

⁴² B. Mishra, '*Medieval Orissa and cult of Jagannath*', op.cit, p. 203.

⁴³ B. D. Mohanty, '*Oriya Sahitya Itihas*' Bhubaneswar, 1977, P-III, p.315.

⁴⁴ Konark (Oriya) op.cit, p.269.

⁴⁵ *Olgala* are in the form of question -answer session by opposite parties, and subjects may vary from simple social habits to difficult mystic knowledge.

Yasovanta Das and Sisu Ananta Das:

They were other two poets of the Panchasakha group and wrote many works in Oriya language, which contributes a lot for the evolution of Oriya language and literature, Some famous works of Yasovanta are *Chaurasi Ajna*, *Gupta Tika*, *Atma Parache*(self knowledge Gita), *Shivasworodaya*, *Govinda Chandra*, *Banabhoji Boli*⁴⁶ (Tale of a picnic in the forest), *Dibydeha Boli* (Tale of Illuminated Body), *Rahi Damodara Katha*, *Prema Bhakti Brahma Gita*, and *Jantra Boli*. Whereas *Hetu Odaya Bhagavata*, *Brahma Parthiba Tatwasara*, *Twatapura Gita*, *Sabda Brahma of Suprakash*, *Sansar Tatwabodh Gita*, *Jnana Lahari*, *Shisu mantra Bichar*, *Artha Tareni*, *Udebakhar* and *Bhakti Mukti dayaka Gita*⁴⁷ are the major contribution of Ananta Das.

Contribution of other poets:

Apart from the Panchasakha, some other poets also wrote several works in Oriya during the second half of the 16th century and contributed a lot for the development of Oriya literature such as *Mahabhava Prakash* of Kanahi Khuntia, Divakara Das's *Jagannatha Charitamrita*, Madhava Pattnaik wrote *Chaitanya Vilasa*, Ishwara Das's *Chaitanya Bhagavata*. Dharnidhara Mishra translated *Gitagovinda* into Oriya, Moreover poet Krishna Charana Pattnaik also wrote many works in Oriya viz- *Vishnu Kesari Purana*, *Vamana Purana*, *Markandeya Purana*, *Padma Purana*, *Kartika Mahatmya*, *Vaisakha Mahatmya*, *Magha Mahatmya*, *Asada Mahatmya*, *Dwadasi Mahatmya* and *Niladri Mahodaya*.⁴⁸ Besides these, the Akhyayik poets like Arjun Das⁴⁹ wrote '*Rama Vibha*' and *Kalpalata Kavya* in Oriya. Another distinguished poet of this trend was Deva Durllabha Das, who wrote '*Rahasyamanjri*'

Thus with the efforts and strives of Sarala Das, Panchasakha School, Akhyayik poets and others, the Oriya language and literature took its deep root and solid foundation in Orissa in the 16th century A.D. and become a regional language distinct from Sanskrit, Bengali, Telugu etc.

⁴⁶ *Boli* is mainly long poetical pieces, in simple language, describe an event or occasion, meant for singing.

⁴⁷ B. Mishra, '*Medieval Orissa and cult of Jagannath*', op.cit, P. 185.

⁴⁸ M. Man Singh, '*Oriya Sahitya Itihas*', op.cit, p. 72.

⁴⁹ *Saptarsi* (Oriya) December, 1985, p. 6.

Development of Oriya Literature under Mughals:

During the Mughal rule in Orissa, Persian was the court language and all the official and revenue records were written in it. Persian was also became the medium of communication between the people and administration. So, it has been argued by some scholar that, the growth of Oriya language and literature got set back in the Mughal period. Which is not true, although the Mughal Subedars, Dewans and Nazims did not took any concrete step for the promotion of Oriya literature but it was the period when the Oriya literature found its growth and prosperity in a more appreciable degree than the Sanskrit literature and reached to its climax in ornate style. During this period the Vaishnavite scholars wrote a large number of Oriya works in the honour of the lord Krishna and Jagannath, to preach their philosophy to the people of Orissa. Besides this, a large number of works depicting the different aspects of society were also written in Oriya by the regional scholars and poets which opened the door for a new kavya age with different theme and style. Even the Oriya poets like Bhatta Mahapatra⁵⁰ and Visvanath Samantaray⁵¹ had earned fame in the Mughal court at Agra. The Oriya poet Visvanath Samantaray got the title of Kavi Chandra by the Mughal emperor Akbar.

Some prominent Oriya poets of Mughal period were Bazzari Das, Bhima Das, Bhupati Das, Brundaban Das, Chandrasekhar Das, Dasharathi Das, Devanand Das, Dharnidhar Das, Dinabandhu Das, Dinakrushna Das, Dwarika Das, Gopinath Das, Haladhar Das, Harihara Das, Iswar Das, Jadupati Das, Kanhu Das, Krupasindhu Das, Mahadev Das, Upendra Bhanja, Dhananjay Bhanja, Ghana Bhanja, Raghunath Bhanja, Lokanath Bidyadhar, Kabisurya Sadavanda, Brahma, Sadasiba, Bipra Das, Kartika Das, Vishnu Das, Bhupati Panadit, Jaya Singha, Narayan Das, Nanda Das, Pratap Ray, Ramachandra Patnaik, Haladhara Patnaik and Salbeg etc.⁵² They wrote a number

⁵⁰ Bhatta Mahapatra was a great poet and musician initially he was in the court of Sher Shah and Islam Shah after them he became the courtier of the emperor Akbar. He was perhaps a Oriya .So Akbar sent Bhatta Mahapatra with Hasan Khan Khazanchi (treasurer) to the Rajah of Orissa for favour against Khan-i-Zaman and Sulaiman Karrani. Cf. *Muntakhab 'u-tawarikh*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.76. See also *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.254-255.

⁵¹ *Suri Sarvaswam*, (Sanskrit Manuscript), Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. According to this manuscript, poet Visvanatha Samantaraya pleased Raja Man Singh by his poetic attainments of a high order in the period of Man Singh's conquest of Orissa. While he was returning from Orissa, he took with him and introduced him to Padshah Akbar. He also earned name and fame in the Mughal court. He spent short time in the court then returned to Orissa. See also *O.H.R.J.*, Vol.I,(1953), No.I, pp.55-56.

⁵² Sal Beg was the son of Lal beg Kabuli was the governor of Bengal. Cf. *Maathir-Ul- Umara*, Vol.I, op. cit., pp.728-729. 'In most of his poems Salbeg has given a brief account of his life but nothing

of works in Oriya and contributed their mite for the growth of Oriya language and literature during the Mughal period. A table showing the name of authors and their work has been given below for the better understanding of the Oriya works written during the Mughal period.

Even many Persian literary works have been translated into Oriya by the Muslim scholars that, the *Pandnama* of Persian poet Shaikh Shaadi have been translated into Oriya by Abdul Masid of Balasore. Likewise, Shaikh Sahab transcribed the work *Ichhabati Haran* of Padmanava Shrichandan of Banki into Persian.

Table-2

Oriya Works Written During The Mughal Period

Sl.No.	Name of Author	Name of Works
1.	Bazzari Das	<i>Artha Govinda</i>
2.	Bhima Das (Mahapatra)	<i>Haribhakti chandrodaya</i> <i>Bhakti Ratnamala</i>
3.	Bhupati Pandit	<i>Prema Panchamruta</i> <i>Bhupati Chautisa</i> <i>Uddhaba Chautisa</i>
4.	Brundaban Das	<i>Rasabaridhi</i>
5.	Brundabati Das	<i>Purnottama Chandrodaya</i>
6.	Chandra Sekhar Das	<i>Srikrushnatatva Chadrodaya</i>
7.	Dasarathi Das	<i>Braja Bihar</i>
8.	Devananda Das	<i>Vaichandra Gita</i>
9.	Dhananjaya Bhanja	<i>Raghunath vilasa</i> <i>Tripura Mohini(sundari)</i> <i>Madan Manjari</i> <i>Ratna Manjari</i> <i>Ananga Rekha</i> <i>Ichhabati</i> <i>Chaupadi Bhusana</i> <i>Ratna Pariksha</i> <i>Asva Pariksha</i> <i>Gaja Pariksha</i>
10.	Dharanidhar Das	<i>Gita Govinda Tika Kara</i>
11.	Dinabandhu Das	<i>Chhanda Charuprabha</i> <i>Radhakrishna Lilamruta</i>

about the date and birth place .it is from the source *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi* of Mirza Nathan, it is known that Jahangir Quli Khan alias Lal beg was the subedar of Bengal from 1607 to 1608 and invaded Orissa to impress his patron Jahangir Padshas during this time he married a widow Brahmin then she gave birth a male child named Sal Beg, Cf. Panda Raghunath, ‘*Bhakta Salbeg and Lord Jagannath*’, A Socialistic Approach,” A.K. Mohanty, ed. *OrissaReview*, Vol.LVII, No.11, Bhubaneswar, 2001, p.23.

12.	Dinakrushna Das	<i>Rasa Kallola</i> <i>Jagamohan chhanda</i> <i>Nama Ratna Gita</i> <i>Rasa Vinoda</i> <i>Naba keli</i> <i>Alankar Boli</i> <i>Artatrana chautisa</i> <i>Prastaba Sindhu</i> <i>Madhumangala</i> <i>Guna sagar</i>
13.	Dwarika Das	<i>Brahma Mudgara</i> <i>Tatvachudamani</i> <i>Ramayana</i> <i>Bhagabata</i> <i>Gupta Gita</i> <i>Bhaktirasamruta</i> <i>Parache Gita</i> <i>Sansarabodha Chautisa</i> <i>Gitatatva Bhagabata</i> <i>Rasakala</i> <i>Parache Chudamani</i> <i>Chhaapoi</i> <i>Naapoi</i> <i>Saptapoi</i> <i>Siva purana</i> <i>Premarasa Chandrika</i>
14.	Ghana Bhanja	<i>Rasanidhi</i> <i>Trailokya Mohini</i> <i>Govinda vilasa</i>
15.	Gopinath, Das	<i>Tika Bharata</i>
16.	Gopendra kabi	<i>Madhupa chautisa</i>
17.	Haladhar Das	<i>Adhyatmya Ramayana</i>
18.	Harihar Das	<i>Chandrabati Vilasa</i>
19.	Haladhara patnaik	<i>Adhyatmya Ramayana</i>
20.	Iswar Das	<i>Chaitanya Bhagabata</i>
21.	Jadupati Das	<i>Braja boli</i>
22.	Jaya Singha	<i>Drona Parva</i> <i>Kshetra Mahatmya</i> <i>Bhagbata Gita</i>
23.	Kanhu Das	<i>Rama Rasamruta Sindhu</i>
24.	Kantha Das	<i>Naapoi, Chhaapoi</i>
25.	Kartika Das	<i>Nabanuraga</i>

		<i>Rukmini Bibha</i> <i>Rama Ravan Yudha</i>
26.	Krupasindhu Das	<i>Braja Bihar</i>
27.	Mahadeva Das	<i>Markanda Purana</i> <i>Vishnu Kesari Purana</i> <i>Padma Purana</i> <i>Kartika Mahatmya</i> <i>Vaisakha Mahatmya</i> <i>Magha mahatmya</i> <i>Asadha Mahatmya</i> <i>Dwadasi Mahatmya</i> <i>Niladri Mahodaya</i>
28.	Madhusudan Das	<i>Nala Charita</i>
29.	Mandaradhara Bhagirathi	<i>Radha vilasa</i>
30.	Mukunda Das	<i>Betala Panchavinsati</i>
31.	Nanda Das	<i>Alankara Samhita</i>
32.	Narayan Das	<i>Panchamruta Sindhu</i>
33.	Pratap Ray	<i>Sashi Sena</i>
34.	Raghunath Bhanja	<i>Rasa Lahari</i>
35.	Rama Chandra Patnaik	<i>Hara bati</i>
36.	Raghunath Harichandan	<i>Lilabati</i>
37.	Sadananda Kabisurya Brahma	<i>Prema Tarangini</i> <i>Prema Lahari</i> <i>Lalita Lochana</i> <i>Chaura Chintamani</i> <i>Jugala Rasamruta Lahari</i> <i>Jugala Rasamruta Bhaunri</i> <i>Prema Chintamani</i> <i>Biswambhara Vilasa</i> <i>Bhagabat Gita</i> <i>Smara Depika</i>
38.	Sadasiba Bipra	<i>Bichitra Harivamsa</i> <i>Gopalila</i>
39.	Salbeg	<i>Salbeg Janana and Chaupadi</i>
40.	Sidheswar Das	<i>Bichitra Ramayana</i>
41.	Shikara Das	<i>Nila Sundar Gita</i>

42.	Sisu Iswar Das	<i>Nala-Rama Charita</i>
43.	Sisusankar Das	<i>Usha Vilasa</i>
44.	Sridhar Das	<i>Kanchana Lata</i>
45.	Upendra Bhanja	<i>Vaidehisa Vilasa</i> <i>Koti Brahmanda Sundari</i> <i>Lavanyabati</i> <i>Abanarasa Taranga</i> <i>Subhadra Parinaya</i> <i>Kala Kautuka</i> <i>Rasa Panchaka</i> <i>Gita vidhana</i> <i>Bhababati</i> <i>Chanda Bhusana</i> <i>Ramaliarmuta</i> <i>Premasudhanidhi</i> <i>Rasika Harabali</i> <i>Suvarnarekha</i> <i>Chitra Kavya Bandodaya</i> <i>Chaupadi Chandra</i>
46.	Vishnu Das	<i>Prema Lochana</i> <i>Ichhabati</i>

Impact of Mughals on Oriya language and literature:

During the time of Mughal conquest, Oriya was the language of the people of Orissa and Oriya literature were flourishing along with the Sanskrit but when the Mughal rule begins Persian was declared as court language and the language of the official records.⁵³ Henceforth all the revenue records were maintained in Persian, even the judgments of Qazi, Sanad, Parwana and Pattas were issued in Persian. So learning of Persian became very essential for the people of Orissa.

Though initially, the people of Orissa looked at Persian with aloofness and indifference because it was not of their understanding but in course of time they also accustomed with many Persian words and their meaning to serve their purpose. Although Persian was the language of the ruling class and the government, so many

⁵³ *Muslim Administration in Orissa*, op.cit, p. 247.

Oriya people learned it to get job in the Mughal administration. They also learned Persian to understand the judgment issued by the Mughal Qazi, to translate and communicate the Parwana, Sanad, Patta to the common masses. Through these channel Persian reached to the people of Orissa and a normal tendency was developed among the Oriya people to learn at least some catch words of Persian, to have an air of pride in the society. Thus, innumerable Perso-Arabic and Turkish words passed into the vocabulary of Oriya language and used by the poets and the regional people during the Mughal period and now.

By the time of first half of the eighteenth century, the study of Persian language became so popular in Orissa that even in the astrological books, the time and date were fixed in Persian.⁵⁴ Likewise, the Hindus of Orissa were studying Persian is known from a manuscript of Persian dictionary written by Jan Mohammad of Katak Sarkar, in the last page of which, it has written in Persian that the owner of this book is Jagamohan Deo.⁵⁵ From this fact, it is evident that Persian was studied by the Oriya scholar during the Mughal period.⁵⁶ The people of Orissa used a number of words of Perso-Arabic origin in their daily conversation, letters and application. So the infiltration of Perso-Arabic words into Oriya became more rampant.

As numerous Persio-Arabic words were used and understood by the common masses of the region, so the writers and poets of Orissa were developed a task for the usage of such words into their writing. As a result a large number of Perso-Arabic and Turkish words were found to have been used in Oriya literature of the Mughal period⁵⁷ that in the poems of the famous Oriya poet Upendra Bhanja, we find many words of Perso-Arabic origin like-Nawab, Diwan, Salam, Faraj, Laskar, Suba, Emam, Qila, Bartan, attar, shikari, atak, kagaz, zari, rumal, Kaman etc. Likewise, other contemporary poets like Brajanath Badajana, Abhimanya Samanta Singhar, Baladev Rath have also used a large number of Perso-Arabic and Turkish words like- Munshi, ,Munshif, Naksha, Salis, Saman, Samil, Sarab, Sart, Sarai, Satranj, Sauk, Surat, Suru, Takrar, Takiya, Tahasil, Tofan, Zal, Zali, Zidd etc in their literary works. The literary

⁵⁴ Jhankar, feb, 1974, p. 103ff.

⁵⁵ This Manuscript is in the possession of Mr. Karamat Ali of Cuttack.

⁵⁶ *Shakhsar*, Cuttack, 1967, Vol.V, p. 13.

⁵⁷ See the Appendix for detailed of the Persian, Arabic words used in the Vocabulary of Oriya language and literature.

work of Satyanarayan pala and the Mughal Tamasha of eighteen century are the instances of a mixture of Oriya, Urdu, and Persian Language.

The impact of the Pesian and Arabic language has also been noticed on the grammar and style of Oriya language. The Karrani style of writing used in Oriya is the Muslim impact. The language and pattern in which Moharirs writes court documents has yet maintained the Mughal impact.⁵⁸

On the other hand the Muslims of Orissa also came in contact with the Oriya language and wrote many literary work in Oriya that Sal beg son of Lal beg⁵⁹ wrote many devotional song in praise of lord Jagannath in Oriya during the period under review. Even the Persian poem *Pandnama* of Shaikh Shaadi of twelfth century have translated into Oriya by Abdul Majid in the name of *Probodh Kavya*. Likewise, Shaikh Sahab transcribed the work *Ichhabati Haran* of Padmanava Shrichandan of Banki into Persian

⁵⁸ *Patha Chakra Prabandha Mala*, Utkal University, 1970, p. 16.

⁵⁹ Lal Beg was the governor of Bengal during the reign of the emperor Jahangir. Cf. *Maathir-ul Umara* ed., Shah Nawaz Khan, trs., H.Beveridge, Vol.I, Patna, 1979, pp.728-729.

Chapter-VI

The Mughal Monuments in Orissa

The Mughal conquest of Orissa is a remarkable epoch in the history of the Medieval India. It made a distinct and effective impact on the indigenous manifestation of life and culture. The art and architecture are the important branches of learning to express the progress and regeneration of culture of a country. So far the Muslim architecture in Orissa is concerned, it obviously started with the commencement of Mughal rule as the Afghans¹ could not have peaceful time to devote themselves for building activities. Hence, whatever extent Muslim monuments of medieval period are discovered so far in Orissa, all belong to the Mughal period and properly are known as the Mughal monuments of Orissa.

The Mughal Monuments in Orissa as elsewhere in India comprise mosques, tombs, graveyards, palaces of governors and forts. Since Cuttack² was the Mughal head quarter of Orissa and the residence of the governor thus it contains some fine buildings³ and has maximum number of the Mughal monuments of Orissa, but in other parts of the region we also find some mosque, tombs belonging to the Mughal period likely in Puri, Khurda, Pipli, Kakatpur, Bhadrak, Balasore etc., which were flourishing under royal patronization. All these shows that Orissa was not lacking in Mughal architecture, although most of these, which survived till the present day may not have their extra-ordinary architectural excellence as the Mughal monuments of the northern India. perhaps, it was due to that, majority of the Mughal monuments in Orissa was built during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb and in the period of later Mughals. Yet there are some monuments which deserve architectural merit.

Since the ancient period Orissa has got name and fame for its temple architecture in India, some of its temples like- The *Jagannath Temple*, *Konark* and *Lingaraj Temple* have earned praise in the world. So architecturally the region was very rich. Later by the establishment of Mughal administration, Islamic features of

¹ The Afghans under Sulaiman Karni defeated Raja Mukund Dev in Orissa in 1568 A.D. which marked the end of Hindu rule from the region, but the Afghan rule in Orissa marked by a period of political unrest. Which was toned down with the conquest of Orissa by Raja Man Singh a military general of emperor Akbar in 1592 A.D. Cf. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, op.cit., Vol.III, pp.326-327, 615-616, 631-632.

² Cuttack – It is located in lati-N-20’29” and long-E-85’50”, the city is situated at the bifurcation of the Mahanadi and its main branch, the Kotjori, Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, p.52.

³ Ibid., p.52.

architecture got its humble beginning in Orissa. The Mughals introduced their own tradition in methods of construction and concept of decoration viz., arches, vaults, domes, minarets etc. The embellishment of the walls with perforated screens, use of geometrical and floral patterns in the interior part of building was also started in Orissa by the Mughals. This took the regional architecture to its height.

Building Materials:

As far as building materials (*masalih-i- imarat*) are concerned. We do not find the use of polished red sand stone (*Sang-e-Surkh*) and marbles (*Sang –e-Marmar*) in Orissa by the Mughals as in the north India, rather they used locally available building materials in construction of their buildings. They basically used clay (*gil*), bricks⁴ (*Khist, ajur*), sand, chiselled stone, woods⁵ and iron⁶. The Mughals were the first to use lime mortar⁷ in Orissa, which was prepared by mixing lime and other ingredients like- Water, *Surkhi*⁸(pulverized bricks), *San* (hamp), *Samgh* (gum), *Sirish-i-Kahi* (reed glue). Lime was also used for white washing of the building after plastering.

Mughal Monuments in Cuttack:

After the conquest of Orissa by the Mughals, it was divided into five Sarkar⁹- *Jalesore, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Kalinga Danpat* and *Rajmahendri*. Among these Cuttack has occupied a place of distinction as per the Mughal Monument in Orissa is concerned because most of the monuments of the Mughal period are found here.

Lal Bagh Palace:

The Lal Bagh seems to have been the residence of the Mughal governors of Orissa. Perhaps it was the first building constructed by the Mughals in Cuttack. We do not have any evidence from Persian sources about the construction of the Lal Bagh

⁴ Abul Fazl mentions three kinds of bricks- baked (*pukhta*), half baked(*Nim pukhta*), and unbaked(*Kham*). Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishor Press, Lucknow, 1882, Vol.I, p.116.

⁵ The Woods of Sisua has generally used in the Mughal monuments of Orissa for making doors and windows. Abul fazl considers Sisua is unrivalled for its beauty and durability Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p.116.

⁶ Iron clamps (*ahan, jama*), small nails (*gulmekh, goga*), rings(*halqa*)etc were used in the Mughal buildings of Orissa, Abul Fazl gives a list of iron object used in Mughal India. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit., Vol.I, p.116.

⁷ Before the Mughals, in Orissa the the lofty towering temples were built mostly of stone without mortar but stands by fitting stone to stone using clamp with proper balance. Abul Fazl also describes that the temples in Orissa are of stone and of great height Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.II, pp.51-52. Lime (*chuna, qalqi, ahak*) drived from Kankar and various kind of Sea-shells called as *Sadafi* by Abul Fazl which was used in Orissa. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol.I, p.116

⁸ Ibid., p.117. Abul Fazl used a list of ingredients used with lime to prepare strong lime mortar.

⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, op. cit, Vol.II, p.51.

Palace but an English merchant William Bruton, who visited Cuttack in 1633 A.D.¹⁰ gives a description of its construction, in the following words- “*Although the palace of the nabob be so large in extent and so magnificent in structure, yet he himself will not lodge in it but every night he lodged in tents with his most trusty servants and guards about him, for it is an abomination to the Mughals (Which are white men) to rest or sleep under the roof of an house that another man hath built for his own honour. And therefore he was building a palace, which he purposed should be a fabrick of a rest and future remembrances of his renown.*” From this text of Bruton, it is clear that the Lal Bagh Palace was under construction in 1633 A.D. and most probably the nawab was Baqr Khan, (after the name of Baqr Khan a locality near the Lal Bagh Palace is called Baqarabad). It was constructed in preference to the fort of Barabati,¹¹ which was perhaps built by Raja Makund Dev.¹² Ghulam Hussain Salim the author of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* mentions about the Lal Bagh Palace in 1742 A.D.,¹³ while giving description of Alivardi Khan’s march to Orissa to rescue his nephew Saulat Jung, who was imprisoned in Lal Bagh.¹⁴ Later another English man Thomas Mottes throws some light on the Lal Bagh in his Travelogue of Orissa on 6 May, 1766 A.D., he quoted that – “*Each of the sides of the triangle on which Cuttack is built is two miles, but on the banks of Cutjoree is best inhabited, on it is Lal Bagh, the residence of the Governor of the province, a large building laid out in a number of courts, in the morisco taste, but much out of repair, the Governor when one part is ready to fall, removing to another, from the principal entrance of this palace runs the great street*”.¹⁵

¹⁰ Bruton’s *Account of Cuttack and Puri*, in *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-X; No.-3, Bhubaneswar,(1961).pp.34-48.

¹¹ Barabati means twelve batis that is 240 biggahs of land.

¹² Rajah Mukund Deo built a palace here, nine stories in height; the first story was taken up for the elephants and the stables; the second was occupied by the artillery and the guards and quarters for attendants, the third by the petrol and gatekeepers; the fourth by the workshops; the fifth by the kitchen, the sixth contained the public receptions rooms, the seventh; the private apartments, the eighth; the women's apartments and the ninth, the sleeping chamber of the governor. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, op.cit.,Vol.II, p.52.

¹³ Salim, Golam Hussain –“*Riyaza-us-Salatin*”,trs., Abdus Salam,op.cit., Delhi,1975, p. 335,

¹⁴ According to *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Baqir Ali Khan(son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khan) marched from Dakhin killed Gujar Khan a general of Alivardi Khan and imprisoned Saulat Jang(the Subedar of Orissa) along with his wife and children in the fort of Barabati and installed himself on the Gadi of Orissa. Cf. *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, p.502.

¹⁵ Thomas Motte “*A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond mines at Sumbhulpor*” In *O.H.R.J.*, Vol-I, No.-3, Oct, (1952), Appendix – pp. 17.

Inside the compound of the Lal Bagh lies the tomb of the saint Shah Mansur, a sacred relic called *Panja*¹⁶ and a small mosque built in 1215 A.H (1803 A.D.). After independence, it was converted into the Raj Bhawan of Orissa. At present it is located near Cuttack High Court at Chandni Chawk.

Dewan Bazar Mosque:

The Diwan Bazar Mosque is the oldest Shahi Mosque of Cuttack. According to a Persian inscription found in the Mosque, it was built during the reign of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) in 1079 A.H.¹⁷ (1667 A.D.) by Diwan Murshid Quli Mirza Jaffar. During his period, Prince Azam was the subhedar of Begal. The locality of the mosque is known as Dewan bazar most probably after the name of Dewan Mirza Jaffar. It is one of those rare monumental buildings at Cuttack that are preserved from the ravages of time and has kept in good condition. The mosque as it stands today was not constructed at any single period. It was extended at later period as indicated by the another inscription found on the wall of the mosque.¹⁸ Though it is small in structure but has a beauty of its own.¹⁹ The architectural features of it are as follows,

1. The sanctuary (*liwan*) of the mosque is two-aisles deep, three pointed arch ways on its facade and a sunk *mihrab* in the western side of the nave.
2. Its ceilings have been most ingeniously planned that the front aisle has three *ladao* ceiling with central *hindol* (chaukhandidar) where as the second aisle of the *liwan* has a vaulted ceiling supported by four arcades.
3. There are three bulbous domes on the superstructure of it, one on the nave and one each on the extreme bay of either wing. These are crowned by a *mahapadma* (sheath of lotus petals) and *kalasa* (water vase).
4. There are two octagonal tapering towers (*minares*) with massive octagonal *chhatris* are attached to the quoin of the western corner of the sanctuary.
5. There are four perforated jails (lattice works) within the arched frame, two on the northern and two on the southern walls in the sanctuary, on the top of the *mihrab* in a large oblong cartouche is written *Kalima* of Islam in large *thulth* letters as-“ *Afzal-o-zikr, La Illaha, Elallaha, Muhammadur Rasool Allah*”, otherwise the whole interior is plain .

¹⁶ ‘*Panja*’ means five sacred finger of *Hazarat Ali* (son-in-law of prophet Muhammad, (P.B.U.H) as believed by Shias and showed during the time of Muharram festival.

¹⁷ For the Persian Inscription on the facade of the Dewan Bazar Mosque, Cuttack. See Plate No. 4.

¹⁸ Ibid., See Plate No. 5.

¹⁹ For the photo of the Dewan Bazar mosque, see Plate No. 69-70.

6. Over all large pond situated near the mosque attaches a natural charm to this religious sanctity.
7. There are two carved Persian inscription on the façade of the mosque which are as follow:

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 در زمان شاه عالم گیر آنکه
 میرزا جعفر وزیر الملک کرد
 مدح او مغنی است از بیش و کم
 مسجد والا بنا همچون حرم
 سال تاریخش بنایش عقل گفت
 مسجد عالی بقاع محترم
 ۱۰۷۹

The English translation of the Persian inscription of Diwan Bazar mosque is as follows:

1. With the name of Allah, the most gracious and most merciful.
2. There is no god but Allah and Mohammad is his messenger.
3. During the reign of Alamgir (Aurangzeb) whose qualities are indescribable.
4. Mirza Jafar, Wazir-ul-Mulk, laid the foundation of this magnificent mosque which is as sacred as Kabaa.
5. Wisdom dedicated the date of the laying of its foundation. Here is this magnificent mosque a sacred place which was constructed in 1069 A.H (1657 A.D)

شکر خدا مسجد عالی مقام
 چونکه بنا کرد بنام خدا
 گشت ز آزاد محمد تمام
 تا باد با خدا یا بنام
 سال تاریخ عن مظهر
 قال هو ثانی بیت الحرام
 ۱۲۵۳

The second inscription cited above, reveals that this Mosque was repaired and extended by Azad Mohammad in the year 1254 A.H. The English translations of the second inscriptions are as follows:

1. Thanks to God that this great mosque was completed in the hand of Azad Mohammad.
2. Since, he constructed it with the name of Allah, May Allah make its existence forever.
3. When Mazhar was asked about its construction year, he replied that it is '*Whoa Saani Bait-ul- Haram*', that is 1252.A.H.

Jama Masjid of Balu Baza:

The Jama Masjid of Balu Bazar is the monument of eminence and the biggest Shahi mosque of Cuttack. It may be regarded as the magnum opus of Mughal monuments in Orissa. It was built during the reign of Shah Alamgir (Aurangzeb) by Nawab Nazim Ekram Khan in 1102 A.H.²⁰ (1689 A.D.) and was dedicated to Shahzada Begum (daughther of Aurangzeb). It bears all characteristic features of a congregational prayer hall. Its extra ordinary feature is that, it is based on an elevated ground, the floor level of which is almost as high as a small one storied building, which has deep tunnels underneath, through which one can move from the main road side to the opposite side. It is one of the most beautiful mosques of Orissa.²¹ The architectural features of it are as follows:

1. The Jami Masjid at Balubazar is built on high plinth. While the western side is closed to accommodate the *Qiblah* denoting the direction of Ka'bah, Dalans are on its other three sides, with a gateway in the southern side.
2. There are '*hujras*' (small chambers) in the northern and dalans in the eastern side and a square *hauz* (cistern) in the centre of the court for *wazu* (ablution), which has also a small minaret in its middle point.
3. The sanctuary (*Liwan*) of the mosque is three-aisles deep and its facade is made of an arcade of seven arches, all are nine-cusped and similar in size and designs.

²⁰ For the Persian inscriptions preserved on the facade wall of the Jami mosque, Balu Bazar, Cuttack, see Plate No. 6-19.

²¹ For photo of the Jama mosque; see Plate No. 71-72.

4. The sanctuary (*Liwan*) has a sunk *mihrab* denoting the *Qibla* and *minbar* (pulpit) in the centre of the western wall of the nave. There are two three-cusped arch niches, one each on either side of *mihrab*.
5. Corresponding to facade archways, there are seven pointed arches in the second aisle of the *liwan*.
6. There are five octagonal and tapering minarets, attached to the edge of the sanctuary, two in the eastern corner, two on the western corner and one on the roof of the *mihrab*. The minarets of eastern direction are taller than other three, all are crowned by *Chhatris*.
7. There are two turrets attached to the quoins of the central portal. They are crowned by ornamental mini *Chhatris*.
8. The sanctuary is surmounted by three bulbous domes, one on the nave and one each on the bay of either wing. The central one is slightly higher than the side ones. They are also crowned by inverted *Mahapadma* and *Kalasa finial*.
9. On the top of the *Mihrab* in a large oblong cartouche is written the *Kalima* in large thulth letters as;

'Afzal-o-Zikr, La'illaha, Ella'lha, Muhammadur Rasool, Allah'
10. There are six perforated *jali* (lattice work) within the pointed arch under rectangular frames in the centre of the northern and southern side wall of *liwan*, two in each inner section of the sanctuary.
11. The most interesting objects here are the stairs leading to the top of the minaret which gives a brilliant look of the whole city of Cuttack. On the right side of the mosque there are some *hujras* which are used as the Maktab to impart the Quranic teaching to the children. There is an Arabic inscription on the outer wall of 'hujra'.²²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نَادِ عَلِيًّا مظهر العجائب تجده عوناً لك في النوائب

كل هم و غم سينجل بنبوتك يا محمد و بولايتك يا علي يا علي يا علي

²² In the name of Allah , the Most Gracious , the Most Merciful. You should call Ali, the manifestation of the wonders, you will find him helpful for you in time of calamity. All the grief and sorrow will get vanished by your prophet hood o Muhammad (PBUH), and by your sovereignty of Ali, o Ali , o Ali !

There are some Persian inscriptions on the wall of the mosque which reveals its history.

بمهد عدل شاهنشاه عالم گیر گردون فر که هندوستان ز تیغ بازویش قوی شده
 بود نواب عالی منزلت این ملک راناظم خطاب نامیش اکرام خان مکرمت آئین
 ز فیض ریش ابر بهار عدل و داداو شده ملک کتک همچون کلیسان ارم رنگین
 ز نور همت عالی ندیده هیچ کس هرگز بوقت جو د چون آئینه بر پیشانی او چین
 غلام خاص پیر و نگیر است زان سزاوار است اگر گرد خطابش خان خانان از ره تحسین
 محل عفت. مفیض حرمت و عزت فروغ دوده دولت ضیای تخت راتزین
 چراغ دیده اهل حرم شهزاده بیگم جیو که باشد پار ساچو مریم و مستور و صاحب دین
 بنا کرده برای مسجد حق مسجد عالی چه مسجد همچو بیت اللہ می باشد صفا آگین
 بود گلده استه اش سرو عبادت خاند فعت چو قمری مقری آوازش نماید سرعلین
 ز بس صحنش محل حاجت اهل دعا باشد بگوش اهل عبادت را رسد از هر طرف آئین
 چو شد اتمام این مسجد عطار دگفت تاریخی حساب سال او بر اسم صاحبزاده کن تضمین
 بتاریخ هما یوش رقم زد خامه ثروت بامر قادر این مسجد پیا کرده محی الدین

The English translations of the Persian inscriptions of the Jama mosque are as follows:

1. In the reign of justice of the emperor Alamgir (having the skyline position), while the religion was strengthened in India.
2. Akram Khan was a high ranking governor of the province and his principle was generous.
3. With the bounty of his justice and beneficence the province of *Katak* became colourful like the garden of heaven.
4. Due to his ambition of magnanimous light nobody saw any kind of hesitation on his face in the time of forgiveness.

5. Since, he was a great slave (devotee) of *Pir-i-Dastagir* (Hazrat Abdul Qadir Gilani) hence he was worthy of getting the title of *Khan-i-khana*.
6. He is the treasure house of piousness and purity and source of honour and dignity, he gives splendor and glory to the empire and adds adornment to the throne.
7. Sahezada Begum, the light of the eyes of harem, who is as pious and benevolent as Marriyam (mother of Jesus).
8. This magnificent mosque is built in her honour which is as curable as the *Masjid-i-Baitullah*(Qaba).
9. Its bouquet is cypress of the sanctuary and voice of the performer of prayer echos like the voice of nightingale.
10. The sanctuary of it is the place of fulfillment of invocation of invoker and the performer of prayer listen the voice of *Ame* (acceptance) from every corner of it.
11. When the construction of this mosque was completed, calligraphist told that the year of its construction should be calculated in the name of Shazada, for this holy date pen wrote that Mohiuddin (Aurangzeb) built this mosque in the order of Allah. That this was built in 1102 A.H (1689.A.D.).

مولوی محمد حسن اندر کٹک نزدیک چوک سایبان در پیشگاه مسجد عالی نمود
 هاتف از تاریخ او چیز یکہ باترس بگفت
 بانیان مسجد اکرام خان نواب بود

The second inscription as cited above, discovered in the verandah of the mosque states that Maulvi Mohammad Hossain, a resident of Cuttack town built the Saiban of this magnificent mosque and heard the divine voice that the builder of this mosque was Nawab Akram Khan.²³

²³ See Plate No. 20-21.

The Muhammadia Bazar Mosque:

The Mosque of Muhammadia Bazar is also known as *Ujale Khan* Mosque. The inscription on the walls of mosque reveals that it was built in the year 1125 A.H²⁴ (1713 A.D.) by Mohammad Ali²⁵. Although in size it is smaller but its beauty lies in its simplicity and grandeur. The architectural features of it are as follows:

1. The Ujale Khan Masjid is a single-aisled mosque. Its facade contains seven arches of which three are 'Iwan' portal entrances into liwan and other four are carved on the facades. The central Iwan is nine-cusped arch where as other are pointed arches.
2. The sanctuary (*liwan*) has a sunk *Mihrab* denoting the *Qiblah* and *Minbar* (pulpit) in the centre of the western wall of the nave. There are two pointed arch niches, one each on either side of the *Mihrab*.
3. There are also eight small pointed arch niches under the rectangular frame called '*Taq*' on the wall of the liwan.
4. As other Shahi mosque of Orissa on the top of the *Mihrab* in a large oblong cartouche is written the *Kalima* in large thulth letters as:
5. '*Afzal-o-Zikr, La'illaha, Ella'lha, Muhammadur Rasool, Allah*'
6. There are three big bulbous domes on the superstructure, one on the nave and one each on the bay of either wing. They are also crowned by *Mahapadma* (Sheath of lotus petals) and *Kalasa* (water vase) finial.
7. The sanctuary (prayer hall) is on the western side, a court in it front is enclosed by high walls on all the three sides leaving only an entrances on the eastern side.
8. There is a *hauz* (cistern) in the centre of the court for '*wazu*' (ablution), in the centre of *hauz* (cistern) is a small minaret decorated as lotus flower.
9. There are eight turrets, four of which are attached to quoin of central dome and other four, to four corners of mosque.

²⁴ For the Persian Inscriptions preserved on the walls of the mosque, Muhammadia Bazar, Cuttack, see Plate No. 22-24.

²⁵ Mohammad Ali designation is not given, perhaps he might be Alivardi Khan's step brother Mir Muhammad Amin got sir named Mohabat Jung who according to Ghulam Hussain Salim the author of '*Riyaz-us-Salatin*' migrated to Orissa with his father after the death of Azam Khan in 1707 A.D. Cf. *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, op.cit., p.335.

There are three carved Persian inscription on the facade of the mosque which are as follows:

مسجد عالی نمود بنا	چون محمد علی براه خدا
ثبت فرمودا چرا آن شما	حق پذیرفت صدق نیت او
گفت خیر البقاع عالی را	از خرد چون سوال سالتش کرد

The English translations of the Persian inscription on the facade of this mosque are as follows:

1. When Mohammad Ali built a lofty mosque for the sake of Allah.
2. Allah accepted his good intention and rewarded him for that.
3. When a wise person was asked about the year of its construction, he replied '*Khair-ul- Baqa Aali*'. The literary meaning of this verse is to remain always in loftiness. But the verse is a chronogramical method to calculate the year of the construction of the mosque. When it is decoded it corresponds to 1125.A.H. that is 1713.A.D.

There is a Urdu school attached to the entrance of the mosque which was perhaps *Maktab* in that period and later transferred into government Urdu school.

Sardar Khan Masjid:

The Sardar Khan²⁶ Mosque is situated in Shaikh Bazar. It was built by Sardar Khan in 1167 A.H.²⁷ (1753 A.D.). The architectural features of it are as follows:

1. It is a two-aisled deep mosque built on a high plinth. There are three multi-cusped arches on its facade.
2. The sanctuary (liwan) has a sunk *Mihrab* denoting the Qibla and *minbar* (pulpit) in the centre of the western wall of the nave. There are two pointed arch niches, one each on either side of *Mihrab*.

²⁶ Sardar Khan was perhaps an important officer of the Raja of Sambalpur.. Cf. Thomas Motte, *A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond mines at Sumbhulpor*”, op.cit., p.1.

²⁷ For the Inscriptions preserved on the wall of the mosque, Sheikh Bazar, Cuttack, see Plate No. 25-26.

3. The front-aisle has a vaulted ceiling and second aisle is roofed by three bulbous dome of equal size, which has crowned by the *Mahapadma* and *Kalasa*.

There are two inscriptions, the first one state that the mosque was built by Sardar Khan in the year 1167 A.H. and the second inscription records on the dome of the mosque states that this dome was built by Seth Haji Qadira Khan, Son of Jan Mohammad in the year 1324 .A.H.²⁸ The Persian inscriptions are as follows:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الله اكبر لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله هو الاكبر
 مسجد سردار خان آراسته پاک وز بیا همچو فردوس برین
 جست عاجز سانش از هاتف بگفت همچو اقصی مسجدی گشته یقین

سیٹھ حاجی قادر ابن حاجی جان محمد مرحوم سنی اللہ تراہ و جعل الجنة مشواہ حبہ للہ برای ایصال ثواب
 گنبد سائبان تیار نمود بتاریخ بست و یکم محرم الحرام ۱۳۲۱ ہجری مطابق بستم ماہ اپریل ۱۹۰۳ عیسوی

The English translations of the above cited inscriptions are as follows:

1. With the name of Allah, the most gracious and most merciful.
2. Allah is the greatest, there is no god but Allah and Mohammad is his messenger, He is great.
3. The Mosque of Sardar khan was built as beautiful and undefiled as heaven.
4. When effort was made about the year of its construction, the verse '*Humchu Aksi Masjid-e-Gusta Yakin*' was found to be its date of construction.

'*Humchu Aksi Masjid-e-Gusta Yakin*' is the chronogrammatic method to calculate the year of its construction, when it decoded it corresponds to 1176 A.H.(1753A.D).

²⁸ For the Inscriptions, see Plate No. 27.

The translation of another inscription on the outer wall of mosque is as follows:

Seth Haji Qadir, son of late Haji Jan, may Allah have mercy on his grave and make heaven his abode, who built the dome of *Saiban* of it, In quest of reward in the month of Moharram.

The Shahi Qila Mosque:

The Fateh Khan Mosque is situated inside the compound of Barabati fort. It is not known when this mosque was built but it appears that some Muslim governor of the fort might have built it for the observation of the prayer of the army stationed there. That's why it is also called as *Paltan Masjid*.²⁹ According to some scholars, its builder may be identified as Fateh Khan, the military general and in charge of the fort, whose grave with stone slab is found in the compound of the Qadam Rasul as he died in the month of '*Rajab*' in 1182 Hijri (1770 A.D), which is not acceptable because the architectural features of it is matching with the mosque of the second half of the sixteen century of Bengal. According to Thomas Mottee "Fateh Khan was the head of the military stationed at Paddamapoor"³⁰ during the time of the Maratha rule in Orissa not of the Barabati. Thomas has also given some information about this mosque while describing the Barabati fort, he has mentioned that "he counteracts a lofty mosque, which commands that quarter of the fort; it having been added since the fort was built." Even the board of Government of Orissa (put to show the ancient monument preservation act) in the entrance of the fort informs us about the building of the mosque in second half of the 16th century. Perhaps, it was the first mosque built by the Muslims in Orissa after their victory over the Hindu Raja Mukunda Dev. It is built on a high plinth and bears all qualities of a Mosque.³¹ Its architectural features are as follows:

1. The Shahi Qila Masjid stands on a high plinth. It is a single-quadruple (*Ekangana*) mosque with sanctuary (liwan), prayer hall on the western side of the central court (*sahn*) and *dalans* (cloisters) on its three sides. The north and eastern dalans has entrance to front courtyard of the mosque.

²⁹ '*Paltan*' means Soldiers.

³⁰ Thomas Mottee, *A Narrative of a Journey to the Diamond mines at Sumbhulpor*", op. cit., p.16.

³¹ For the photo of Mosque, see Plate No.-78.

2. The facade of sanctuary is composed of a central Iwan-portal with an arcade (*Maqsurah*) of one pointed arches on each side. The central Iwan-portal rises higher than the side archer and proportionately wider.
3. The sanctuary (*liwan*) contains a sunk *mihrab* denoting the *Qibla* and *Minbar* (pulpit) in the centre of the western wall of the nave. There are two pointed arch niches, one each on either side of the *mihrab*.
4. On the top of the *mihrab* in a large oblong cartouche is written the *Kalima* in large thulth letters as
'Afzal-o-Zikr, La'illaha, Ella'lha, Muhammadur Rasool, Allah'
5. There are also two pointed arch niches under rectangular frame, each one in the centre of the northern and southern side wall of the liwan.
6. There are also seven small arch niches under rectangular frame called '*Taq*' in the walls of liwan.
7. The sanctuary is roofed by three bulbous domes built on octagonal drum. One on the nave and one each on the bays of either wing. These are also crowned by inverted *Mahapadma* and *Kalasa* finial.

The Qadam Rasool Shrine:

The Qadam-i-Rasool³² Shrine is the most important Mughal monuments in Orissa, it is situated at the centre of Cuttack city. According to Andrew Stirling “the Kadam Rasool, an antique looking edifice standing in the midst of a five garden, which contains certain reliques of the Prophet Mohammad and commissioned from Mecca by the Nawab Nazim Shujauddin Khan or his son Mohammad Taki Khan”³³ no doubt the shrine of Qadam-i-Rasool was built by Nawab Shujauddin Mohammad Khan in 1127 A.H.³⁴ (1714 A.D.) but the sacred relic or the foot print of the Prophet has a romantic career which comes to light from an affidavit submitted on 7th September 1835 A.D. in the court of the Amli of Cuttack by the ancestors of the present Dargah that when Kalaphar was busy in his conquest of Orissa, one Haji Syed Alimullah, the fore father of the present Dargah brought the Qadam-i-Rasool from Najaf in Arabia with signature of the then Sherif of Mecca to prove it's genuineness.

³² *Qadam-i-Rasool* means the relic of the foot-print of the holy prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.)

³³ *An account (Geographical, Satistical, Historica)l of Orissa proper or Cuttack*; op.cit., p. 19.

³⁴ For the Persian Inscriptions preserved on the wall of the *Qadam-i-Rasool*, at Cuttack, see Plate No.-35.

This relic was at first enshrined at a village called Kukariapada in the Sungra Pargana³⁵ of the Cuttack district, which later named as Rasoolpur in honour of sheltering the relic of the Prophet. When fame of healing effects of the Qadam Rasool in various diseases and ailments widely known, Nawab Shujauddin expressed his desire to visit the village to pay his homage to the relics. He was prevented by the officer in charge Mohammad Ali that the *Mofussil* (rural area) would not be able to bear the strain of his big cavalcade, so Mohammad Ali, the Nawab's Diwan sent instruction to the officer-in-charge of Sungra to shift the sacred relic to Cuttack. Accordingly the Qadam-i-Rasool was brought to Cuttack and kept at *Jobraghat* on the bank of the Mahanadi in a thatched house in the year 1099 Amli.³⁶ The Nawab appointed Syed Mohiuddin as the darogha and also set up a separate department under one Hoshmand Khan whose duty was to look after the maintenance and necessary repair of the shrine. It is stated that one night some unknown roguish persons threw the relic into the river, hearing this Nawab engaged some fisherman who searched it out then it was brought to the present site. Nawab Shujauddin Mohammad Khan endowed fifty batis of land for the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine. The Qadam-i-Rasool including the Naubat Khana covers 57 acres of land which was surrounded by walls at four corners of this compound, there are four small towers constructed out of chiseled stones, later it became the main burial ground of the Mughals of Cuttack.

The Tomb of the Qadam-i-Rasool was constructed in 1127 A.H.³⁷ (1715 A.D.) by Shujauddin Khan with the specific purpose of keeping the sacred relic of the Prophet. it is one of the most beautiful monuments of the Mughal period in Orissa.³⁸ The architectural features of it are as follows:

1. The tomb of the Qadam-i-Rasool is built on a slightly raised octagonal plinth in the centre of the compound.
2. The building of the tomb is also octagonal with four *Iwan* (gateways) in four directions. The Iwan of western side is slightly larger than others and having multi-cusped arch where as other are pointed arches.

³⁵ Hussain Altaf , '*Muslim Monuments of Cuttack*', O.H.R.J., Vol.XI, No.1, (1962) p.6.

³⁶ Ibid.,

³⁷ For the Inscription on the facade wall of the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine, Cuttack, see Plate No.-28, 35.

³⁸ For the photo of the Qadam-i- Rasool Shrine, see Plate No.-74.

3. The sanctuary has another small octagonal chamber inside the centre of the main building which contains relic of the Prophet (*Qadam-i-pak*).
4. The shrine is surmounted by a magnificent bulbous dome, perhaps the biggest in Orissa which is crowned by Mahapadma and golden Kalasa finial.
5. There are eight turrets (small minarets) on eight corner of the tomb.

Many Arabic and Persian inscriptions are found on the wall of the *Qadam-i-Rasool*, among the Arabic inscription, we found the name of الله (God), محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم the Prophet Muhammad then four great *Khalifa* of Islam viz. ابو بكر Abu Bakr, عمر Umar, عثمان Osman and حيدر على Hyder Ali, we also noticed the verse “بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم” (we starts with the name of Allah, the most gracious and the merciful) and the ‘*Kalima Tayeab*’ (the basic verse of Islam) as افضل ذكر (great verse for recitation) that is “لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله”. Below that on each octagonal wall is bearing Persian inscription on plates³⁹ as follows:

قدمگاه شرف پیرای عالم سال آن است
 بسم الله تیمنا بذکره العلی الاعلی
 والصلوة والسلام علی محمد وآله خیر الوری
 هر کجا بنیم پای نقش اوز آنجا پنجم (۱۱۲۷)
 خاک برداریم چندانی که آب آید برون

بمحد شاه عالم بادشاه عالم آرای	که در کرباس او کسری و قیصر پاسبان است
سلیمان شصت و جمشید شوکت بخت بیدار	قدر قدرت ز شاهان جهان صاحبقران است
شجاع الدین محمد خان که فیاض زمان است	فلک از رفعت قدرش زمین را توانان است
بود خورشید رویش منظر انوار لاهوت	زمرآت همایون طلعتش خوبی عیان است
بهار خلق او دار دوشام عالم قدس	معطر از ریاحین..... بنان است
فلک رفعت ملک سیرت حق آئین و حق آگاه	که لطفش مرهم ریش دل دل جستگان است
خدا دوش دل روشن چو خورشید جهان تاب	بود پیشش هوید اهر چه در کون و مکان است
مبارک طینتش را چون ز جان و دل سرشتند	مکارم جمله اخلاص غریزی بهر آن است
از آن کرد از سر صدق و یقین این قبه بنیاد	که او را در شرف با قبه نچرخ اقتزان است
اگر اولیله الاسر اسر خود را بیا سود	نه هم این قبه بر نقش همان پاسایه بان است

خرد گفتا بنهن ختم اسم ذات دادار

³⁹ For the Persian Inscription preserved on the Qadam-i-Rasool Shrine, Cuttack, see Plate No.28-51.

The English translations of the above cited Persian Inscriptions are as follows:

1. It is the shrine for the foot-print of that being who decorated this world with honour. Begin with the recitation of the great name of Allah and respects for the Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W) and his progeny. Wherever i may find his foot-print, I would dig up earth with my eye lashes so that water might come of it. (Shujauddin Mohammad Khan craved the intercession of prophet Muhammad). It was built in 1127 A.H. (1715.A.D.).
2. In the reign of decorator of the world, Shah Alamgir, Whose court is guarded by Kisra and Qaesar.⁴⁰
3. He bears dignity like Sulaiman and grandeur as Zamseed for his fortune that the bounty of the kings of the world is due to his good fortune.
4. The generosity of Shujauddin Mohammad Khan is so famed in his contemporary world that the sky is inferior as the earth in front of his eminence.
5. His sun like splendid face exhibits the God's miracle. His mirror like holy face explains his quality.
6. His elegant manners bears scent of sanctity and⁴¹
7. His skyline eminence, angel like character, just principles and well informed that whose kindness is ointment for worried persons.⁴²
8. God has bestowed him the enlightened heart to lighten the world that the things of the both the World are open to him.
9. Since, his holy face has structure heartily, So his manners are full of all kind of goodness.
10. Hence he built this dome with truthfulness and confidence that it may get similar status as the sky.
11. If he affluent his head in the night of the enlightenment then this dome would not cast a shadow on this footprint.
12. Wisdom indicates that due to the grace of this name.....⁴³

⁴⁰ Kasri and kaesar were the title of Iran king.

⁴¹ Some letter are missing in the verse on the wall, So sentence is incomplete.

⁴² The verse in the line -7, 8, 9, are not clear that either it explains about the Prophet Mohammad(p.b.u.h.) or the character of Shujauddin Mohammad.

⁴³ Few letters are missing in the verse so sentence is in complete.

Moti Masjid:

Nawab Shujauddin Khan also built here a simple yet a beautiful mosque in 1130 A.H.⁴⁴ (1718 A.D.) inside the compound of the Qadam-i-Rasool called as *Moti Masjid*.

The architectural features of it are as follow:

1. The sanctuary (*liwan*) has five arches on its façade and a sunk *mihrab* denoting the *Qibla* in the centre of the western wall of the nave. There are two pointed arch niches on either side of the mihrab
2. The *liwan* has a vaulted ceiling which has rested on four big arcades.
3. There are two perforated jail within pointed arch under the rectangular frame in the centre of the northern and the southern side wall in the liwan.
4. As Dewan bazar mosque, here is also written of the Kalima tayyab on the top of the mihrab in a large oblong cartouche. As “*Afzal-o-zikr, La, Illaha, Elallah Muhammadur Rasool Allah*”.

There are five Persian Inscriptions on the façade of the mosque above the arch entrances which revealed its history⁴⁵ are as follows:

آن شجاعی که بود دین نبی را جاهی	روضه ساخت منور چو دل اهل قبول
جاودان باد الهی بجهان دولت او	بمحمد و علی و بنیه و بتو ل
مسجدی نیز بنا کرد درین منزل قدس	که شب و روز بود سجده گاه اهل وصول
بهر تا رخ بنایش مترصد بودم	که کند مصرع عالی بدل از عرش نزول
هاتف غیب بمن گفت بگوئی سرچند	شد بنا مسجد اقصی بقدر مگاه رسول

The English translations of the above cited Inscription are given below.

1. That Shuja who is a devotee of the prophet's religion has constructed this edifice which is illuminated as that, it would be accepted by the heart of those, who are the believers of the prophet.

⁴⁴ See Persian Inscriptions preserved on the wall of the mosque, in the compound of the Qadam Rasool shrine. See the Plate no.

⁴⁵ For the Persian Inscription, see Plate No.-52-56.

2. May his wealth be eternal in the world. O God, with the blessing of Muhammad, Ali and Batul (Fatima).
3. He has also constructed in this sacred place a mosque so that the devotees may pray here day and night.
4. I was anxious for a chronogram of its foundation so that from Paradise may descend a hemistich into my mind.
5. When the celestial voice told me to deduct the head of the word '*Hajad*' and thus the foundation of this exalted Mosque was laid at the foot of the prophet, the Qadam-i-Rasool in 1130 A.H. (1718 A.D.).

Later on the area of the mosque extended towards eastern side and a marble plate showing the date of extension as 1986 A.D.

Hauz -i-Shuja:

Nawab Shujauddin Mohammad Khan also built a large water reservoir in 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D) for ablution in the compound of the *Qadam-i-Rasool*. There are six Persian inscriptions on the beams of it, which reveals that this water reservoir was constructed by Shujauddin Mohammad Khan during the reign of Alamgir - II, in the year 1127 A.H.⁴⁶(1717 A.D.).The Persian inscriptions on the water tank are as follows:

بدور شاه عالمگیر ثانی	که تیغش ز سر عدو ست خونریز
نگارش یافت از کلک گهر سلک	برای مقدم این حوض دلاویز
شجاع الدین محمد خان بنا کرد	بتاریخ زلال خیر لبریز

The translations of the above Persian Inscription are as follows;

1. In the reign of Alamgir-II whose sword is blooded with enemies heads.
2. It was written with pearl spreading pen about the construction of this attractive water tank.
3. Shujauddin Mohammad Khan built it and its year of construction is "Zalal-e-Khair Labrez" i.e. 1715 A.D.

⁴⁶ For the Persian Inscription on beam of the water reservoir, found inside the compound of the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine, see Plate No.-57.

Naubat Khana:

The entrance of the *Qadam-i-Rasool* is through the *Naubat Khana* (music gallery) constructed much later in 1169 A.H. (1757 A.D.) by Masalehuddin who was Nawab Taqi Khan's Son.⁴⁷ The Persian inscriptions on the Naubat Khana are as follows:

بدرگاه خدیو دو جهانی مرتب گشت نوبتخانه دین
پناه عالم انسی و جانی بجهت شاه عالمگیر ثانی
چو فرزند مصالح دین محمد بدرگاه نبی این قصر آراست
که دیدار علی نامش بدانی خدا حاصل کند مقصود جانی
که دیدار علی نامش بدانی خدا حاصل کند مقصود جانی
سوال سال تا ترنخش چو کردم چو طبل کفر را سر بشکنی زود
سروش غیب گفت از مهر بانی ز نوبت خانه دین سال خوانی
۱۱۶۹ هجری

The translations of the above cited inscriptions are as follows:

1. Naubat Khana was built at the shrine of the lord of the both the world.
2. In the reign of emperor Alamgir-II, providing shelter to the people of whole world.
3. As a pious son, he built this palace at the shrine of the religion of the prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H).
4. His name is Dedar Ali, May Allah fulfill the wishes of his life.
5. When it was asked about the year of its construction, a divine voice is heard that '*Naubat Khana Din*' is the year of its construction.

When the chronogrammatic method applied to the phrase of '*Naubat Khana Din*' the year of construction of it found as 1169A.H. (1757A.D).

⁴⁷ For the Persian Inscriptions on the wall of *Naubat Khan*, see Plate No.-58.

Inside the compound of the *Qadam-i-Rasool* lies the grave of many noted personalities of Mughal period like, Nawab Mohammad Taqi Khan (the Deputy Nazim of Orissa) who died in 1147 A.H.⁴⁸ (1735 A.D.), Fateh Khan who died in 1182 A.H. (1770 A.D.) and Azam Khan who died in 1188 A.H. (1776 A.D.), both of them were generals during the Maratha reign, some tombs of the saints can also be seen in the *Qadam-i-Rasool* graveyard viz. *Shahid Panni* who died in 1193 A.H. (1781 A.D.), *Hazrat Baher-i-Sultan*, *Hazrat Syed Akbar Shah Wali*, *Hazrat Syed Noor Shah Wali*, *Hazrat Syed Sakhawat Baksh*, *Hazrat Syed Mohammad Wafati* (Bezli Shah Baba), *Hazrat Saiyadana Maqbool Maroof Bharpur Shah Wali*, *Data Shah baba* etc.⁴⁹

During the Mughal rule in Orissa, the migration of the Muslims as officers, general, traders, Ulemas and saints from Bengal, Bihar, Jaunpur and other parts of India to Orissa became a continuous process. While the Muslim population increased considerably in this region and their penetration into the interior part of Orissa took place, so many Muslim religious institutions like - mosques, tombs and shrines also grew up besides Cuttack but very few belong to the Mughal period. Among the Mughal mosques the *Abu Nasar Khan Mosque* of Jajpur, *Shahi Mosque* at Pipli, *Jama Masjid* at Balasore are very noted.

The Abu Nasar Khan Mosque at Jajpur:

Historically, Jajpur is rich because many ancient relics and monuments are found here, among the Mughal buildings, the palace of the Mughal Subedar of Orissa Abu Nasar Khan, Mohammad Taqi Khan and Shahi Mosque built in the town of Jajpur are of great importance. Although the evidence of the palace of Nawab Muhammad Taqi Khan and Abu Nasar and a mosque are frequent in the foreigner travelogue like Stirling and Kittoe⁵⁰ but except the mosque of Abu Nasar, we do not find any existence of the palace of Muhammad Taqi Khan and Abu Nasar along with the mosque of Taqi Khan. According to B.C. Banerji - "It is said that Gouranga Rai,

⁴⁸ For the Inscription on the epitaph of grave, see Plate No.-75.

⁴⁹ For the of Mughal Graveyard of Qadam-i-Rasool, see Plate No.-76.

⁵⁰ Kittoe's '*Exploration in Orissa in 1836-1838*', in *O.H.R.J.* Vol.-II, No.1, April-1953, Appendix-I.

the Amlidar of Maratha, removed the stones from the Taqi Khan Palace and Mosque to build his own mansion and the Temple of Govindji at Bhaga Mahadev.”⁵¹

However the existing Shahi Mosque at Jajpur town was built during the reign at Aurangzeb in 1098 A.H.⁵² (1686 A.D.) by deputy subedar Abu Nasar Khan who was son of Shaista Khan. He was given the deputy subedarship of Orissa as Prince Muhammad Azam (son of Aurangzeb) who was appointed as Subedar of Orissa but he did not inclined to come to Orissa personally for administration. Thus, Abu Nasar Khan was deputy Subedar of Orissa perhaps from January 1683 to 1689 and built a magnificent mosque at Jajpur.

The mosque is known for its architectural merit in Orissa.⁵³ Its architectural features are as follows:

1. It is a single aisled mosque. Its facade is composed of a central *Iwan*-portal with an arcade (*maqsurah*) of one pointed arches on each side.
2. The central iwan-portal rises higher than the side arches and proportionately wider. The side arches of the iwan-portal are similar.
3. Turrets are attached to the quoin of the iwan-portal. They are again crowned by ornamental mini *chhatris*.
4. The sanctuary (*liwan*) contains a sunk *mihrab*, denoting the direction of the *Ka'bah* (Qibla) and *minbar* (pulpit) in the centre of the western wall of the nave. There are two pointed arch niches, one each on the either side of the *mihrab*.
5. The sanctuary is surmounted by three bulbous domes, one on the nave and one each on the extreme bay of the either wing. The centre one is correspondingly higher than the side ones. These are also crowned by extremely prominent *mahapadma* (sheath of the lotus petals) and *Kalasa* finial (water vase).
6. There are two octagonal and tapering tower (minarets) attached to the eastern quoins of the sanctuary, these rises to the height of 60ft each and crowned by *chhatris*.

⁵¹ Banerji, B.C. "An Account of the Antiquities of Jajpur in Orissa" Journal of Asiatic society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1871, Vol.-XI, Part-I, No. 2.

⁵² For the Persian Inscriptions preserved on the archway of the mosque, Jajpur, see Plate No.-63.

⁵³ For the photo of the Mosque of Jajpur, see Plate No.-73.

7. The entrances to the liwan is decorated with arabesques and floral designs, there are two perforated jail within the pointed arch under the rectangular frame on the northern and the southern side wall of it.
8. As the other mosque of the Orissa, here is also *Kalima* on the top of the *mihrab* in a large oblong written as “*Afzal-o-zikr, La’Illaha.Elallah, Muhammadur Rasool Allah.*”
9. On the top of the central Iwan-portal has five Persian inscription, each in oblong cartouche⁵⁴, these are as follows.

ظلیّ ظلّیلِ رایتِ اورنگِ زیب شاه
گسترده باد تا که ز انجم نشان بود
اوصافِ خلق و رتبه نوابِ مستطاب
بیش از توان و قدرتِ نطق و بیان بود
در شهر جاجپور بنا کرد مسجدی
کین نه فلک بگنبدِ سقفش نهان بود
تسبیحِ قدسیان شنوی اندرواگر
یک شب ترا مقامِ درین آستان بود
مسجد چو شد زمانِ ابونصر خان بنا
تاریخِ او زمانِ ابونصر خان بود
۱۰۹۸ هـ

The English translations of the above cited Persian inscription are given below,

1. May the shadow of the Insignia of the Emperor Aurangzeb be spread as long as the stars cast their light (Shine).
2. The praises and good qualities of the excellent Nawab are greater than in the power of the poets to describe.

⁵⁴ For the Persian Inscription, see Plate No.-59-63.

3. In the town of Jajpur he laid the foundation of a mosque, the domes and minarets of which are so splendid and magnificent that even the ninth sphere of the sky remains hidden by them.
4. You may hear the angels recite the holy verses, if you spend one night at this sacred place of prayer.
5. As the mosque was built in the time of Abu Nasar Khan so its date is the time of the "Nawab Abu Nasar Khan Bond."

The year of its construction calculated as 1098 A.H. that is 1686 A.D.

Thomas Motte, in his travelogue "*A Narrative of a journey to the diamond mines at sumbhulpoor*" had beautifully praised the architectural workmanship of this mosque, Motte during his visit of Jajpur in the month of may ,1766 was impressed with the structure of the mosque and remarked - "*This Mosque is built in the style of Turkish mosque having lofty minaret at each end of the front angles, which takes off their disagreeable acuteness and by being built airy and light, form a pleasing contrast to the disgusting clumsiness of the domes*".⁵⁵

The Takhat-i-Sulaiman Mosque:

The Takhat-i-Sulaiman⁵⁶ Mosque and Tank is situated on Alangiri hills in Pargana Alti in the district of Jajpur, it was built at a height of 2500 feet. It is a plain stone building with a single room surmounted by a dome. There is a platform in the east, surrounded by a thick wall with a gate, to its north there is a high terrace which has been constructed for the reception of *Darvishes* and pilgrims. The entrance is from the east and consists of a steep road paved with rough stones on the southern side of the mosque there is a sacred tank. The legend related to it is that formerly, it was a spring of water formed by Sulaiman striking the rock with his staff.⁵⁷

The mosque is not significant for its architectural skill but for its commanding posture. This mosque and Dargah was built in the year 1132 Amli⁵⁸ or 1724 A.D. by Nawab Shujauddin Mohammad Khan.

⁵⁵ Thomas Motte., *A Narrative of a journey to the diamond mines at sumbhulpoor*", op. cit., Appendix. p.11

⁵⁶ *Takhat-i-Sulaiman* means the throne of the Sulaiman (son of Daud) who was simultaneously one of the Prophet of God.

⁵⁷ *The Samaj* (Oriya), Thursday edition, 29rd June, 1999, p.14

⁵⁸ Ibid.,

The English translations of the Persian inscription preserved on the slab of the mosque are as follow:

“When Shujauddin Mohammad made the shrine, that from it might shine the light of religion”.

There are two fascinating legends regarding the circumstances, which led to the erection of the monuments, first, once Sulaiman, (Son of Daood, was simultaneously Prophet of God and a king, who ruled over *Hafta Ekleem* (The seven world) was passing on the air on his throne (*Takhat*) by the angels and desire to offer prayer (*Namaz*) and ordered his throne to be rested on the top of the mountain then a mosque was built and a spring broke out for *wazu* (ablution).⁵⁹ According to another legends that a holy saint called Sulaiman Saheb came down to this area first to Lilitgiri hills and then to the present location on the top of the hill. He went there to offer *namaz* (prayer). Once Muslim soldiers were passing by this way, saw a flag fluttering on the hill. They went over to the hill and took a vow that if they succeeded in battle they would return and do something in commemoration of the holy Pir. The army became victorious and the *Dargah Takht-i-Sulaiman* was constructed in this way.⁶⁰

Shujauddin Mohammad Khan has donated 16 batis of land for various services of Dargah like-sweeping, *Sirini*, *Fatiha*, *Sanja Cheragh* and for looking after the *Musafir*'s maintenance and the repair of the dargah,⁶¹ later Murshid Qali-I and Raja Januji Bhansale also donated some land to the *Dargah Takht-i-Sulaiman*. Since then both Hindu and Muslim used to come to the Dargah and pay homage to the holy Pir and to get blessings.

The Shahi Mosque of Pipli:

Pipli is a village situated on the state highway about nineteen kilometer from Bhubaneswar in Puri district, the Persian sources state that Pipli was the seat of governor of Orissa Subah during the reign of Jahangir and was known as *Bulbuli*,⁶²

⁵⁹ Shaikh Mohiuddin, “*Muslim monuments of Jajpur Sub-Division*”, in *Cultural Heritage of Orissa*, ed. B.C. Ray, Vol-II and Vol-III, Bhubaneswar, 2000. p.69.

⁶⁰ *The Samaj* (Oriya), op.cit., p.14.

⁶¹ Copy of letter No. 5532/6 dated 14th August, 1950, from the under secretary to the Government of Orissa to the District Magistrate, Cuttack,

⁶² *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, op.cit., Vol.II,p.382.

so many Mughal monuments were also built in this area, but presently the evidence, only of a mosque and tomb are existing.

The Shahi Mosque of Pipli was built by Abdul Aziz son of Abdul Karim son of Mirza Ansari in 1585 A.H.⁶³ (1674 A.D.), during the reign of emperor Aurangzeb. Here is the sacred door of the sacred house, although the original mosque remained in ruin for more than a century but the stone slab bearing the Persian inscription is kept in a nearby M.E School. So, it would be difficult to assume its architectural feature. Now it has been renovated by the cultural Heritage of the state and is managed under wakf council of Orissa. The Persian Inscriptions are as follows;

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 معبد شهنشاه اورنگ زیب که از عدل شد بر جهان شفیق
 جهان کمالات عبدالعزیز که توفیق یزدانش آمد رفیق
 بنا کرد در پپلی مسجدی که وصفش نیاید به رای دقت
 نظیرش چون آمد خرد را بچشم به تاریخ او شد به فکر عمیق
 بزحرف تاریخ او در شمار ز طوبیال باب بیت العتیق
 بنا شد مسجد از عبدالعزیز ولد عبدالکریم ابن مرزا انصاری بتاریخ یک هزار و هشت و پنجاه شهر رمضان سنه
 ۱۰۸۵

The English translations of the Persian inscription found on the stone slab are as follow:

1. 'With the name of the Allah the most gracious and merciful'. There is no god but Allah and Mohammad is his prophet.
2. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb who due to his great justice was affectionate to the people of the world.
3. "Abdul Aziz, perfection of the world personified, may divine help accompany him, laid the foundation of a mosque at Pipli the quality of which can not be described by minute observers even.
4. When intellect did not find its equal in the world, it sank in deep meditation to fix a suitable date of its construction.

⁶³ See Inscription on a stone slab preserved in the M.E. School premises, near mosque site, Pipli.

5. From the numerical figures of this verse - *ze tuba albab baitul atique* (Here is the sacred door of the sacred house), the date of its construction is counted as 1085 Hijra.
6. This mosque was constructed by Abdul Aziz son of Abdul Karim who was son of Mirza Ansari in the year one thousand and eighty five hijra in the month of Ramzan in 1085 Hijra.

Mughal monuments at Balasore:

Balasore⁶⁴ is one of the historical city of Orissa, it was within the Sarkar of Jaleswar during the time of Mughals, so some monuments of Mughal period are also found here, most famous are the Jama Masjid and the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine.

The Jama masjid of Balasore was built during the reign of Aurangzeb at sunhat⁶⁵. It was built on an elevated plinth, although it is simple in structure with three octagonal domes but the pond in the southern side of mosque gives a pleasing looks to it. There are four minarate in the four outer corner of this mosque.⁶⁶

Another important monument of Balasore is the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine (foot-print of the holy prophet Mohammad, built perhaps by Shujauddin Mohammad Khan. Mohammad Taqi Khan (son of Shujauddin Mohammad Khan) made land grants for the maintenance of *Qadam-i-Rasool* of Balasore. He also erected the impressive gates of it. Taqi Khan also constructed the dargah at sunhat, (which was renovated in later period) and made generous grants of land to the extent of 30 batis and twelve manas in the Sunhat pargana of Balasore on 1137 Amlī⁶⁷ 1729 A.D. One Persian inscription attached to the holy structure indicates that the ground which contains the holy prophet's foot prints deserves the adoration and deep reverence of sages for ages.

Besides these, the mosques of Mughal period are also found in Manikpatna in puri district and Jaleswar. The mosque of Manikpatna was built by Mohammad Kamal in 1193 Hijra⁶⁸ (1779-80 A.D.) during the reign of Shah Alam Badshah Ghazi and Babaji Naik Subedar of the town of Cuttack.⁶⁹ Whereas the mosque at Jaleswar

⁶⁴ Balasore is situated on the bank of the Bay of Bengal. Now it is a district of Orissa.

⁶⁵ The Samaj (Oriya), 19th January, 2001, p.9

⁶⁶ See Plate no.79 for figure of the mosque.

⁶⁷ Copy of letter No.5532/6, dt 14th August 1950 from the under secretary to the government of Orissa to the district magistrate, Cuttack.

⁶⁸ *The Samaj* (Oriya), op.cit., p.14.

⁶⁹ Ibid.,

was built perhaps in the 16th century by a Nawab, whose identification has not been ascertained.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *The Samaj* (Oriya), op.cit., September, 2004, p.9

Conclusion

Though Orissa became a part of the Mughal empire after its conquest by Raja Man Singh in 1592 A.D. and Muslim rule was established here; but the Muslim invasion of Orissa started with the conquest of Bengal by Ikhtiyaruddin Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1205 A.D, who sent his general Muhammad Sheran and Ahmed Sheran towards Jajnagar. Subsequently, the Muslim generals of Bengal and Sultans of Delhi led invasion to it. The invasion of Ulugh Khan and Firoz Shah Tughlaq are referenced in the contemporary sources but before 1568 A.D. the Muslim invasion of Orissa were mere military raids. The Afghans under Sulaiman Karrani were the first to establish Muslim rule in Orissa in 1568.A.D. but due to their conflict with the mighty Mughals, they lost Orissa to the latter in 1592. A.D. The Mughals annexed it to their empire and ruled it upto 1751.A.D.

With the commencement of the Mughal administration, the process of migration of Muslims as administrators, military generals, foot soldiers, office bearer and clerks to Orissa began. Later, with the passage of time, the Muslim Ulemas, Saints and Fakirs from different parts of India and abroad came to Orissa to cater their religious need. In due course of time, they were also granted Jagirs by the Mughal Subedars. Thus, the Muslim settlement primarily grew in the coastal areas of Orissa like Jaleswar, Balesore, Bhadrak, Cuttack, Pipli and Behrampur but their population was small in comparison to the other Mughal provinces. However, the Muslims settled in Orissa with their own religion (Islam) and Culture (Islamic Culture). Although, the Muslim culture was different from that of Oriya culture but when these two cultural groups came together, they could not maintain an attitude of isolation, distrust or indifferences. Again the Socio- economic need brought them nearer and closer. So both the cultures influenced each other.

During the Mughal rule the Orissan society was not static but dynamic; that transformation was taking place in different aspects of the socio- cultural life of the people of Orissa like food habits, drinks, dress, ornaments, cosmetics, fragrances, custom, manner, religion, festival, language, literature, art and architecture. Though the Muslims were the ruling class so their custom, manner, living style, attire, fashion, etc were imitated initially by the local subordinate rajas, prince, princess, nobles,

zamindars and later by the people of Orissa. Thus, the impact of the Muslims are traced in different aspects of the society and culture of Orissa.

So far the customs and manners of the people of Orissa are concerned, the impact of Muslims is obvious. Also in the sphere of food, the Muslims introduced foods like- Biryani, Palao, Ukma, Khichiri, Kheer, Chappati, Samosa, Halim, Qima, Kabab etc. In the sweet dishes, they introduced Balusahi, Halwa, Jalebi, Khasta, Morabba and Mishri in Orissa. The credit also goes to the Muslims that, they introduced into Orissa various spices such as Jafran, Laung, Dalchini, Kalonji, Yelachi, which are still, largely used by the people of Orissa. Among fruits, the Muslims brought fruits like Anar, Ananas, Angur, Khajur, Kismis, Kharboja, Monacca, Naspati, Pista and Seb to Orissa. The Muslims also added the drinking item viz. Sarbat, Sirka and Sira to the drinking habit of the Oriyas.

In the sphere of dress and ornaments, the Muslims introduced many new dresses like- Qamiz, Jama, Pyjama, Shalwar, Rumal, Saya, Lahenga, Balish, Burqa, Maqna and Keshgan in Orissa, which became part and parcel of the Oriya people in the then period and now. The ornaments introduced by the Muslims in Orissa are Bajuband, Angustri, Besar, Nath, laung, Payal, Ghungru, Bichwa, Anwat, Pipalpatri, Bali, Guluband etc. the usage of these ornaments by the people of Orissa during the Mughal period and now is the clear evidences of the Impact of Muslims.

Since the Mughals were very fond of cosmetics and fragrances, so they introduced many new cosmetic and fragrances in Orissa like Wasma, Khizab, Gulguma, Ghaza, Gulabjal, Luban, Heena, Musk, Ambar and other types of ittir. Initially these items were used by the local rajas, prince, princess, noble and Zamindar but gradually the common people of Orissa started to use these items. Even the Gulabjal and Luban became important items of Mangala arti and yaga in many temples of Orissa during the Mughal period and now.

In the sphere of the religion and festival references are found of religious syncretism and communal harmony that, except the small orthodox section both the Hindus and Muslims of Orissa participated in each other's religious festivals without any inhibition during the Mughal period. On the occasion of Diwali the Hindus of Orissa illuminated their houses and huts like that of Shab-e-Barat of the Muslims. The Muslims of the Orissa, particularly of rural area also illuminated their houses and took

part in gambling to celebrate Diwali festivals like the Muslims of Bengal and Awadh. Similarly, the Hindus did not hesitate to join the Taziya procession of Muharram of Muslims in Orissa. The religious syncretism of the people of Orissa can best be understood from a unique tradition of the *Satya-Pir* cult in which both the Hindus and Muslims of Orissa venerated a common saint called *Satyapir*. There are many references to the belief of the Hindus of Orissa in the Muslim saints, pirs and fakir of that period which is evident from a palm leaf manuscript known as *Khuda- Prasana* or *Pir Sahib Prasana*. Among the Muslim Shrines, the Qadam-i-Rasool shrine of Cuttack, Bokhari sahib of Kaipadar, Jahania pir of Astarang and Bhujakhiya pir of Balasore are few examples, where the Hindus of Orissa used to visit and pay homage to pirs. There are references that, the Muslims of Orissa believed in the principles of the Hindu astrology and prepared horoscope of their child after his birth and also built their houses according to the Bastusastra. It is interesting to note here that with the passage of time, the rituals of the shrines of the Muslim saints and Pirs were largely influenced by that of the Hindus such as offering of flowers, grave clothes, putting of the Sanja chirag (evening lamp), sprinkling of Gulabjal and sandal paste on the grave of saints, offering of Sirini (Prasad) to Pirs, beating of drum near the grave of saints on the special occasion etc.

The survey of the Oriya literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth century shows the impact of the Persian and Arabic language on the Oriya language and literature that, with the establishment of Mughal rule in Orissa, Persian became the court language and all the official, revenue and judicial records were written in Persian thus the study of Persian language became essential for the Oriya people. So many Oriya also learnt Persian to get service in the Mughal administration, to understand the sanad, land grants, judgments issued by the Mughal subedar and Qazi. Even the social contact between Oriyas and Muslims paved the way to exchange of their ideas in their mother tongue. Thus, with the passage of time, the people of Orissa accustomed with many Perso-Arabic words and used them in their letters, application and communication so much so that by the time of eighteen century, the poets have used a large number of Perso-Arabic words in their literary works. So, when we study the poems of the famous Oriya poet, Upendra Bhanja, we find that he had used many Persian and Arabic in his poems like Nawab, Diwan, Salam, Faraj, Suba, Emam, Sultan, Bartan, Badshah, Namak, attir, atak, atlash, kagaz, Kaman, rumal, shikari, and

zari. Likewise the poet Brajanath Badajena, Abhimanyu Samanta Singhar, Baladev Ratha had used large number of Persian words in their literary works. The literary works of Satyanarayan pala and the Mughal Tamasha of eighteen century are the instances of a mixture of Oriya, Urdu, and Persian Language.

The impact of the Persian and Arabic language has also been noticed on the grammar and style of Oriya language. The Karrani style of writing in Oriya is also due to the Muslim impact. The language and pattern in which '*Moharirs* writes court documents, has till now maintained the Muslim impact.

On the other hand, the Muslims of Orissa also came in contact with the Oriya language and wrote many literary works in Oriya that, Sal beg son of Lal beg wrote many devotional songs in praise of lord Jagannath in Oriya during the period under review. Even the Persian poem *Pandnama* of Shaikh Shaadi of twelfth century has been translated into Oriya by Abdul Majid of Balasore in the eighteenth century in the name of *Probodh Kavya*.

So far the art and architecture is concerned, the Mughal governors had built many palaces, tombs mosques, graveyards and water tanks in Orissa. They built the Lal Bagh palace, graveyard of Qadam-i-Rasool, water tank inside the compound of Qadam-i- Rasool shrine. They also built the Dewan Bazar Masjid, Jama Masjid, Moti Masjid, Shahi Qila Masjid, Ujale Khan Masjid, Sardar Khan Masjid, Abu Nasir Khan Masjid, etc in Orissa and introduced many Islamic features of architecture like pointed-arches, multi-foliated arches, octagonal domes, Minars etc in Orissa. In the sphere of design they brought arabesque, floral, geometrical style to Orissa. The credit also goes to the Mughals that, they introduced lime mortar in Orissa. The buildings of the local rajas have also largely influenced by the Mughal architecture.

On the basis of the study based on information and various points discussed in my thesis, I wish to mention here some of my findings that, after the establishment of the Mughal rule in Orissa, transformation was taking place in different aspects of the society and culture, the impact of the Muslims can be traced in the customs, manners, language, literature, art and architecture of the people of Orissa. So far as the religion and festivals are concerned, there was communal harmony and co-existence. On the other side, the Muslims of Orissa are also habituated to many rituals of the Hindus of Orissa. Thus both the cultures influenced each other.

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APPENDIX

List of some Perso-Arabic words generally used in Oriya language & literature.

(Although these words have been taken from Perso-Arabic roots but some vowel points have been changed according to the Oriya pronunciation)

PERSIAN WORDS

aadmi	:	a man
aain	:	law
aaina	:	mirror
aaram	:	comfort
abad	:	cultivated
afsosh	:	sorrow, alas
amdani	:	income
andar	:	in, within
andaz	:	guess
angur	:	grape
arzi	:	petition
asman	:	the sky
atasbaji	:	fire work
awaz	:	sound
awkari	:	excise
azad	:	free
babat	:	affair, on account of
bad	:	bad, evil
badam	:	an almond
bafta	:	a kind of wollen or silk clothe
bagh	:	a garden

bahadur	:	brave
bahana	:	pretence, plea
bajubandh	:	armlet
bakhiya	:	stich
bandargah	:	a port
bandobast	:	management
barabar	:	equal
barbad	:	ruined
barik	:	fine, very thin
baris	:	rain
basinda	:	inhabitant
basta	:	a bundle of papers or books
baz	:	a hawk
bedana	:	a pomegranate
begum	:	a lady
beimaan	:	un principled
beimani	:	dishonesty
bekar	:	un-employed
belcha	:	a hoe
bewa	:	a widow
bezar	:	offended, ill
bibi	:	a lady
bichara	:	helpless
bimar	:	sick
biradar	:	a brother

bistar	:	bed
chabuk	:	a horse whip
chakar	:	a servant
chalak	:	clever
chamcha	:	a ladle
chanda	:	subscription
chapras	:	the badge of a peon
charakha	:	a spinning wheel
charbi	:	fat
chasma	:	spectacles
chay	:	tea
dag	:	a spot
daga	:	deception, treachery
dam	:	breath, life
dar	:	door, house
darbesh	:	saints
darkar	:	necessary
darkhast	:	petition
darwaza	:	a door
darya	:	river
dast	:	hand, purge
dasta	:	a quire of paper
dastkhat	:	Signature
dastur	:	a common practice
dawa	:	a claim

dil	:	heart
dimag	:	brain
diwan	:	prime-minister
dost	:	friend
duniya	:	the world
dushman	:	an enemy
faujdari	:	criminal
ganda	:	filthy
ganjafa	:	a kind of cards
gardan	:	neck
gaz	:	yard
gazi	:	a thin course cloth
giraftari	:	arrest
gram	:	hot, warm
gul	:	flower
gulab	:	a rose
gulsan	:	garden
gumasta	:	an agent
gumbaj	:	dome
guzara	:	livelihood
hangama	:	disturbance
har	:	every
hazar	:	a thousand
hosh	:	sense
jaan	:	life

jadu	:	enchantment
jagir	:	land given by the government as reward
Jahaz	:	ship
jakham	:	a wound
jama	:	a garment
Jamin	:	land
janana	:	female
janjir	:	chain
Janwar	:	animal
jin	:	a saddle
jinda	:	alive
jindagi	:	life
jor	:	emphasis
kagaz	:	paper
kaifiyat	:	an explanation, mood
kal'm	:	pen
kalami	:	grafted
kam	:	little
kamar	:	the waist
kamarband	:	belt
karigar	:	workman
karz	:	debt
khafa	:	angry
khairat	:	alms, charity
khajana	:	treasury

khajanchi	:	treasurer
khaki	:	dusty
khana	:	a house
khandan	:	family race
khangi	:	private, a prostitute
khansama	:	a butler
kharbuja	:	muskmelon
kharch	:	expense
kharid	:	purchase
kharidar	:	buyer
khisara	:	loss
khud	:	self
khun	:	blood
khurak	:	food
khus	:	pleased
kinara	:	border
kismis	:	raisin
kosish	:	endeavour, effort
kotwal	:	chief of the city police
kurta	:	a kind of shirt
lafang	:	a loose character
lagam	:	a bridle
lang	:	lame
langer	:	an anchor
langi	:	a coloured check worn by muslims as dhoti

maidan	:	a plain, land
maja	:	pleasure
majdur	:	a labourer
malish	:	rubbing
manda	:	tired, fatigued, ailing.
mard	:	a man, a male
mast	:	over-joyed, intoxicated
meherban	:	kind, gracious
meherbani	:	kindness
mej	:	a table
mewa	:	fruits
miya	:	sir
mohar	:	seal, stamp
mom	:	wax, fees box
mona	:	the blue stone enamel
murda	:	dead
murg	:	a fowl, a cock
najdik	:	near
nalis	:	a suit
nama	:	a deed
namak	:	salt
namaz	:	prayer
namuna	:	a pattern, model
narm	:	soft
nashta	:	breakfast

naspati	:	a pear
naukar	:	servant
nawab	:	governor
nihal	:	happy
nuksan	:	loss
pa	:	the foot
padshah	:	a king
pahalwan	:	wrestler
paida	:	born
palak	:	eyelids
panja	:	the hand with the fingers extended, a claw, paw
par	:	feather, plume
parcha	:	fragment, slip
parda	:	a screen, curtain
paresan	:	perplexed
pari	:	fairy
parwa	:	care
parwana	:	permit
pasand	:	approval
payakhana	:	latrine
pazama	:	trouser
pesha	:	profession
peskar	:	the reader of a court
pharmais	:	order
pir	:	a holyman, sufi teacher

pista	:	a nut
piyada	:	a peon
piyala	:	a cup
piyaz	:	an onion
pukhta	:	ripe
pul	:	a bridge
rajai	:	a quilt
rajinama	:	agreement
rasad	:	rations, share, imports
rasid	:	an acknowledgement
rasta	:	a way
rawana	:	despatch
resham	:	silk
roj	:	daily
roshni	:	light,
rumal	:	a handkerchief
sabash	:	bravo
sadi	:	marriage
safed	:	white
sahanai	:	a musical pipe
sahar	:	city
sakarkand	:	sweet potato
sakht	:	hardy, difficult
sakhti	:	hardness, rigidity
sakkar	:	sugar

sal	:	a year
sal	:	a shawl
salana	:	annual
sam	:	evening
saman	:	things
samyana	:	canopy
sangin	:	grave, crucial
sarasari	:	rough estimate, summary
sardar	:	headman
sardi	:	catarrh
sarkar	:	government, district
sarm	:	shame
sauda	:	goods, marketing, purchase
saudagar	:	a merchant
sawari	:	a rider, a vehicle
saya	:	petti coat
saza	:	punishment
sazbaz	:	ornaments
sew	:	an apple
sikar	:	hunting
sikari	:	hunter
sipahi	:	a soldier
sira	:	syrup, juice
sirini	:	an offering of sweets
sirista	:	usage, rites, department

sirka	:	viregar
sis	:	glass,
sitar	:	a guitar with three strings
sora	:	salt petre, nitre
sorwa	:	broth, soup
sud	:	profit, interest
sultan	:	a sovereign
sumari	:	census
sumor	:	calculation
supurd	:	delivery, charge
surma	:	autimony powder
susti	:	laziness
taiyar	:	ready
taja	:	fresh
takhat	:	a throne, a low table on seat
takiya	:	pillow
tang	:	tight
tankha	:	salary
taraju	:	a balance
taratib	:	arrangement
tej	:	pointed
tir	:	an arrow
tofa	:	some choice article
wakil	:	a pleader
yad	:	recollection, remembrance

ARABIC WORDS

abwab	:	taxes
adalat	:	Court of justice
adat	:	habit
adaw	:	respects, salutation
ajib	:	wonderful
amanat	:	a deposit
amin	:	commissioner
amir	:	richman
ark	:	essence
arz	:	request
asal	:	root
asbab	:	goods, furniture
ashrafi	:	gold coin
attar	:	perfume
azab	:	punishment
bad	:	after
bad'l	:	change
badan	:	body
bai	:	selling
bakaya	:	remaining
bakiya	:	remainder
baqi	:	residue, remnant, credit
bikul (bilkul)	:	entirely
bulbul	:	nightingale

burqa	:	a veil
dafa	:	Section, time, true, class
daftar	:	register roll, office
dakhal	:	possession, interference
dakhil	:	arriving
dalil	:	an argument, reason proof.
darz	:	registration
daulat	:	riches, wealth
daura	:	visit
dawa	:	medicine
dukkan	:	shop
duwat	:	an ink-stand
faisala	:	decision
fakat	:	alone, only
farakat	:	respite
farar	:	absconded, escaped
fard	:	a unit
fasadi	:	mischievous
fauj	:	army
fayada	:	profit
fazil	:	learned Persian
fikar	:	care, anxiety
foorsat	:	leisure
fulana	:	only person/some body
gaeb	:	absent

gaflat	:	negligence
galta (galat)	:	wrong
garib/guraba	:	poor
garz	:	wish
gulam	:	slave
gulami	:	slavery
had	:	boundary, limit
hairan	:	worried
hajat	:	a lock up, need
hakim	:	a physician, a learned man, a an official empowered with authority
hal	:	condition
hal'f	:	an oath,
halak	:	the throat
halat	:	circumstance, condition
halwai	:	a kind of sweet dish
haque	:	just, right, true
haram	:	illegitimate
harami	:	bastard
harkat	:	activity, motion
hawa	:	air
hazam	:	digestion
hazamat	:	shaving
hazir	:	present
haziri	:	attendance, presence
hifazat	:	protection, security

hisab	:	accounts, calculation
hisabi	:	an accountant
hooka	:	a pipe in which tabacco is smoked
hukm	:	order
huliya	:	personal appearance
huzur	:	the presence of a superior
ijlas	:	a court
Ijmali	:	compendious, gross
Ilaka	:	estate
iman	:	faith, righteousness
innam	:	reward
insaan	:	a human being
iqrar	:	promise
Ishara	:	hint
istahar	:	publication, advertisement
Istimrar	:	perpetuity
Ittila	:	information
izzat	:	honour
Jabr	:	Strong
Jafran	:	saffron
Jahar	:	poison
Jama	:	collection
Jamana	:	time, an age
Janjir	:	a chain
Jari	:	continue

Jarib	:	a land measuring chain
Jawab	:	reply
kadi	:	imprisonment
Kaf	:	the palm of the hand
kafi	:	sufficient
Kajeya	:	quarrel
Kalai	:	white-wash, tin
kamal	:	perfection
Kamiz	:	a shirt
kand	:	sugar candy
kandil	:	a candle
karar	:	promise
Karib	:	near
kasai	:	butcher
Kasur	:	fault
Katal	:	killing
kayam	:	standing, staying
khabar	:	news
khabis	:	wicked
khair	:	good
khairat	:	alms, charity
Khalas	:	discharge
khali	:	empty
Khandaque	:	a ditch
kharab	:	bad, rotten

kharif	:	autumn
Khas	:	special
khasa	:	fine
khasta	:	crisp
khat	:	a letter
khatam	:	end
khatir	:	will, sake
khayal	:	thought, imagination
khayali	:	imaginary
killla	:	fort
Kimmat	:	price
kiraya	:	rent
kism	:	kind
kismat	:	fortune, destiny
kist	:	installment
kitab	:	a book
kuful	:	a lock
kul	:	all
kurk	:	confiscation
kursi	:	chair
lachar	:	helpless
lifafa	:	an envelope
maafi	:	rent free grant, pardon
madrasah	:	a place of reading, college
magaz	:	the brain

mahakama	:	department, Court
mahal	:	a palace, estate
mahasul	:	customs duty
majboot	:	strong
majlis	:	an assembly
makan	:	a house
makhmal	:	velvet
maktab	:	a place of teaching
mal	:	goods
malik	:	owner
malikiyat	:	Proprietary right
malish	:	rubbing, polish
malum	:	known
mamla	:	suit
mana	:	prevention
manada	:	proclamation
manafa	:	profit
manjur	:	sanctioned
marfat	:	care of
marji	:	assent
marqa'a	:	importance
masal	:	a torch
masiha	:	Christ
masjid	:	a mosque
masnad	:	a cushion, throne

matlab	:	desire
mauj	:	wave
mauja	:	parcels of land
mauka	:	opportunity
mausim	:	season, time
mauza	:	parcels of land
mehenet	:	labour
meherab	:	an arch
mijaj	:	temper, nature
mirza	:	a prince, a title of the Turk
misaal	:	example
misri	:	Egyptian, sugar candy
miyad	:	term, period
mohalat	:	respite, time, adjournment
muft, mufat	:	free, gratis, for nothing
muhabbat	:	love
muhafiz	:	a guardian
muharram	:	the first months of the Islam year
muhasil	:	revenue
mukam	:	place , site
mukhtar	:	an authorised person
mukim	:	residing, stationed
mulak	:	a country
mulakat	:	meeting
mulayam	:	soft

mullah	:	soft respected religious responsible person
munim	:	a master
munisi	:	writer
munsif	:	a just judge
muqabila	:	encounter
muqadama	:	law suit
muqarrar	:	appointed
murab'ba	:	preserved fruit
murabbi	:	a pairon
musafir	:	a traveller
musalman	:	Islamic monotheism, follower of Islam
musibat	:	misfortune
muskil	:	difficulty
muwakil	:	a client
nakal	:	copy
nakas	:	drawing
naksa	:	a map, a plan
nala	:	horse's shoe nail
nawab	:	governor
nazar	:	sight, supervision
nazir	:	a precedent
nazir	:	a supervisor
nisan	:	signal
nizzamat	:	supreme court of criminal justice
Qabar	:	a grave

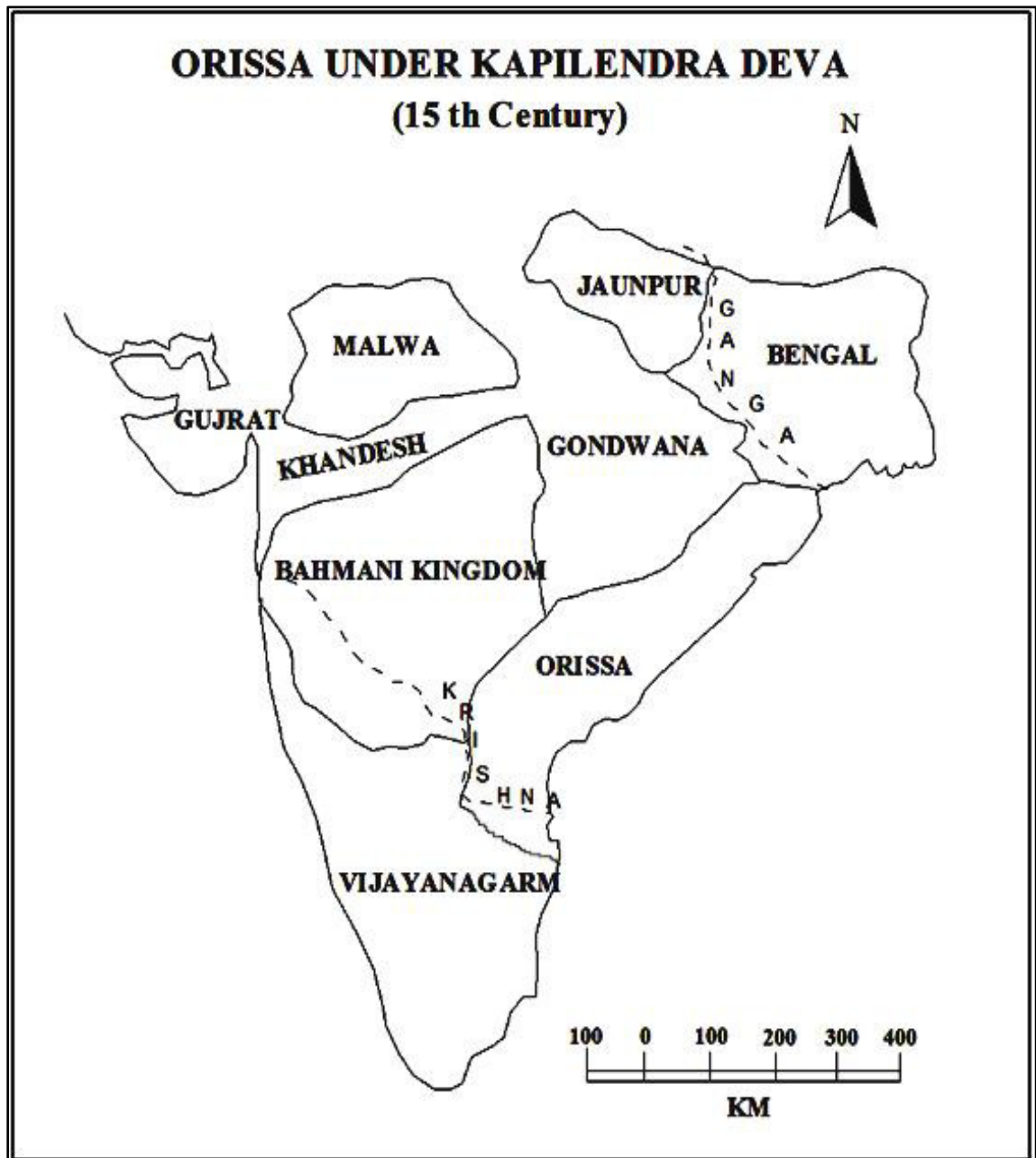
Qadam	:	step
Qadar	:	worth, value
Qaeda	:	rule
Qanun	:	law
Qazi	:	a judge
rad	:	cancelled
rafa	:	settlement
raiyat	:	a tenant
raji	:	agreed
rajinama	:	agreement
rakam	:	amount
rakba	:	an area
rasum	:	fees, duty
saaf	:	clear
sabik	:	past, former
sadaqat	:	truthfulness
sadar	:	headquarter
safa	:	clear
safai	:	cleanliness
sahal	:	easy
sahi	:	correct
sahid	:	martyr.
saitan	:	wicked, satan
saitani	:	devilish
sakin	:	an inhabitant

salam	:	salutation
salam alekum	:	peace with you, good morning
salis	:	an arbitrator
saman	:	summons
samil	:	included
san	:	era, year
sanad	:	charter, grant
sarab	:	spirit
sarabi	:	a drunkard
saraf	:	a money changer
sarai	:	an inn
sart	:	condition, term
sarwat	:	solution of sugar and water
sataranj	:	chess
sauk	:	pleasure, fancy
sawal	:	a query
sawar	:	a rider
suba	:	a province
sultan	:	a sovereign
surat	:	face, features
suru	:	beginning
tabala	:	a pair of kettle drums
tabiyat	:	mind
tabiz	:	amulet
tadad	:	number

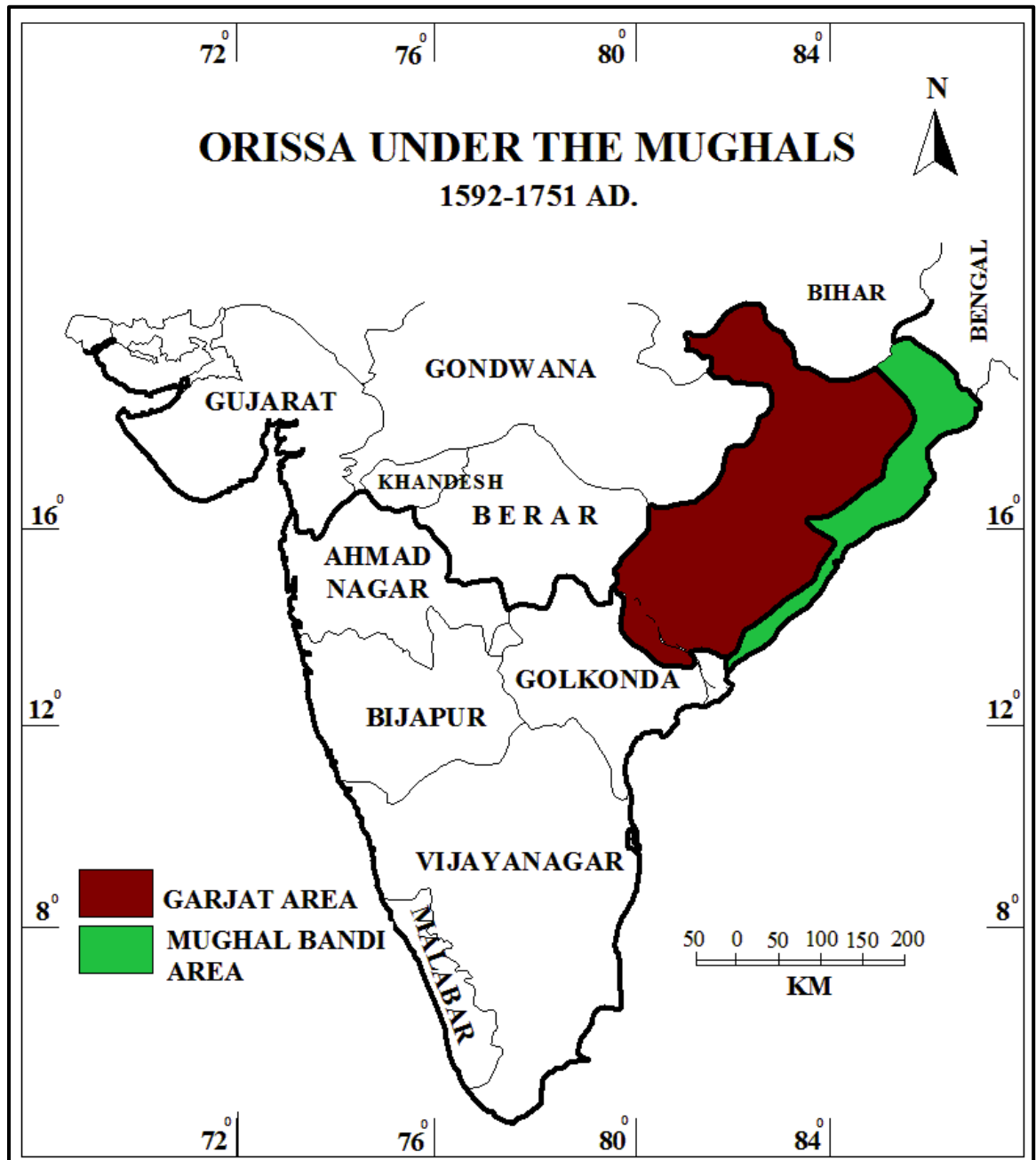
tadwir	:	plan, remedy
tahabil	:	funds
tahasil	:	collection
takabi (tagavi)	:	advance loan to cultivator
takat	:	power
takdir	:	fate
takid	:	a reminder
taklif	:	trouble / problem
takrar	:	quarrel
talim	:	teaching
tamadi	:	period
tamam	:	whole
tamasuk	:	bond
tamil	:	execution
taraf	:	towards
tarif	:	praise
tarikh	:	date
taswir	:	a picture
tauji	:	rent roll.
tufan	:	storm
zabt	:	restraint
Zal	:	forgery
Zamin	:	land, surity, bondsman
Zaria	:	medium means
Zaroor	:	necessary

Zidd	:	insistence, contrast
Zimma	:	trust
Ziyada	:	more
Zul'm	:	oppression

Map-1



Map-2

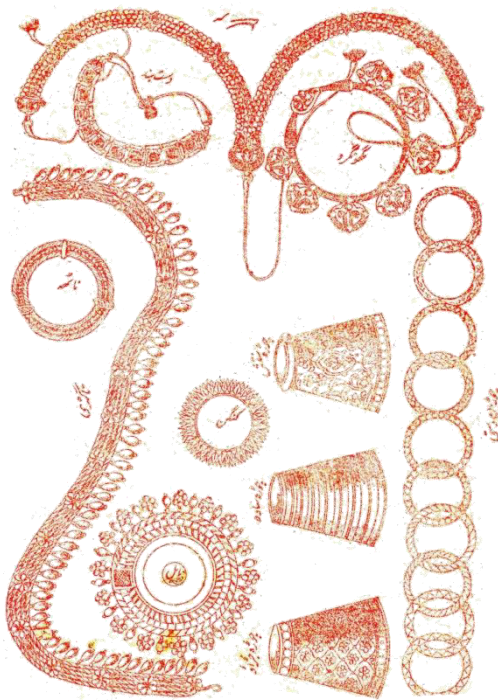


Illustrations

Plate-1



Plate-2



**Plate-1-2, Ornaments of Mughal Period
(Ain, Vol. III, p. 144-145)**

Plate-3



Rath Yatra of Jagannath, Puri

Plate-4



Plate-4, It gives information about the construction of Diwan Bazar Mosque, Cuttack

Plate-5



Plate-5, It gives information about the extension of Diwan Bazar Mosque, Cuttack

Plate-6



Plate-7



Plate-8

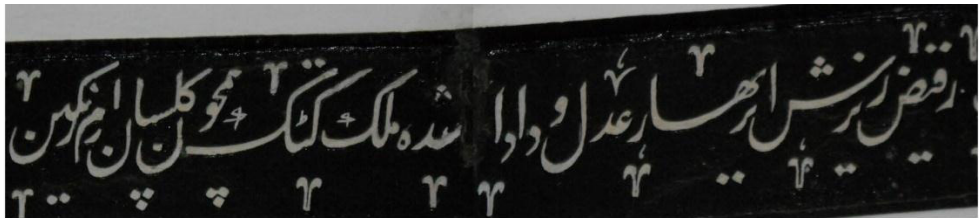


Plate-9

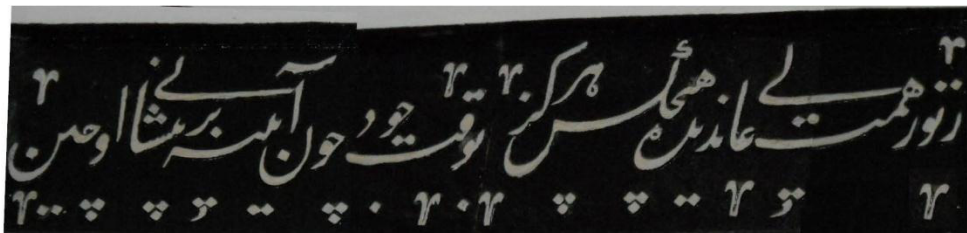


Plate-10



Plate-11



Plate-12

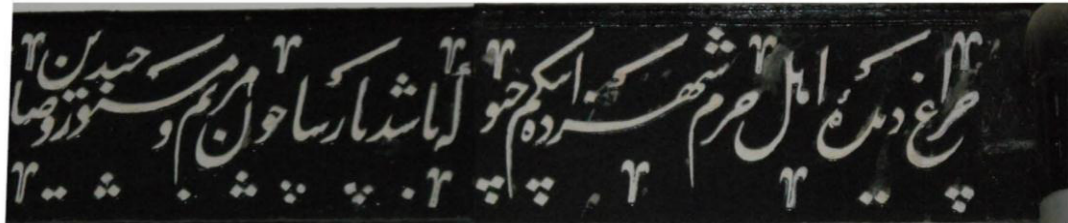


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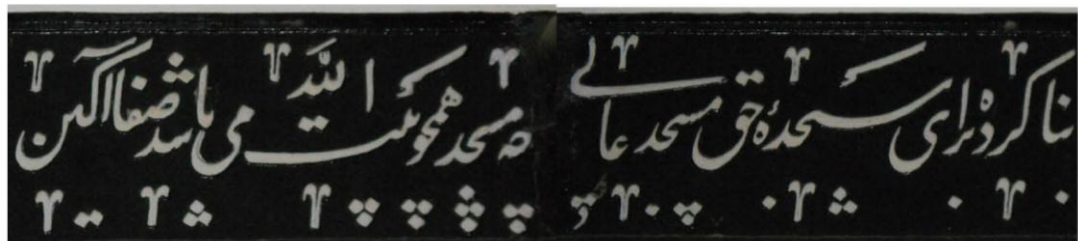


Plate-14



Plate-15



Plate-16



Plate-17

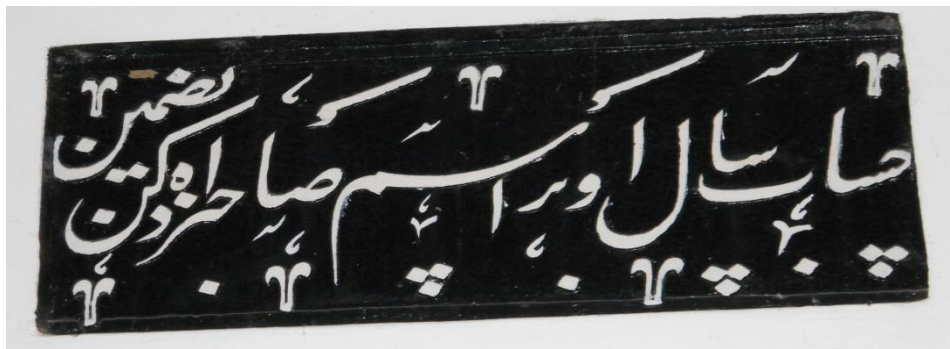


Plate-18



Plate-19



Plate-6-19, are the Persian Inscriptions on the preserved on the façade of the Juma Masjid, Balu Bazar, Cuttack.

Plate-20

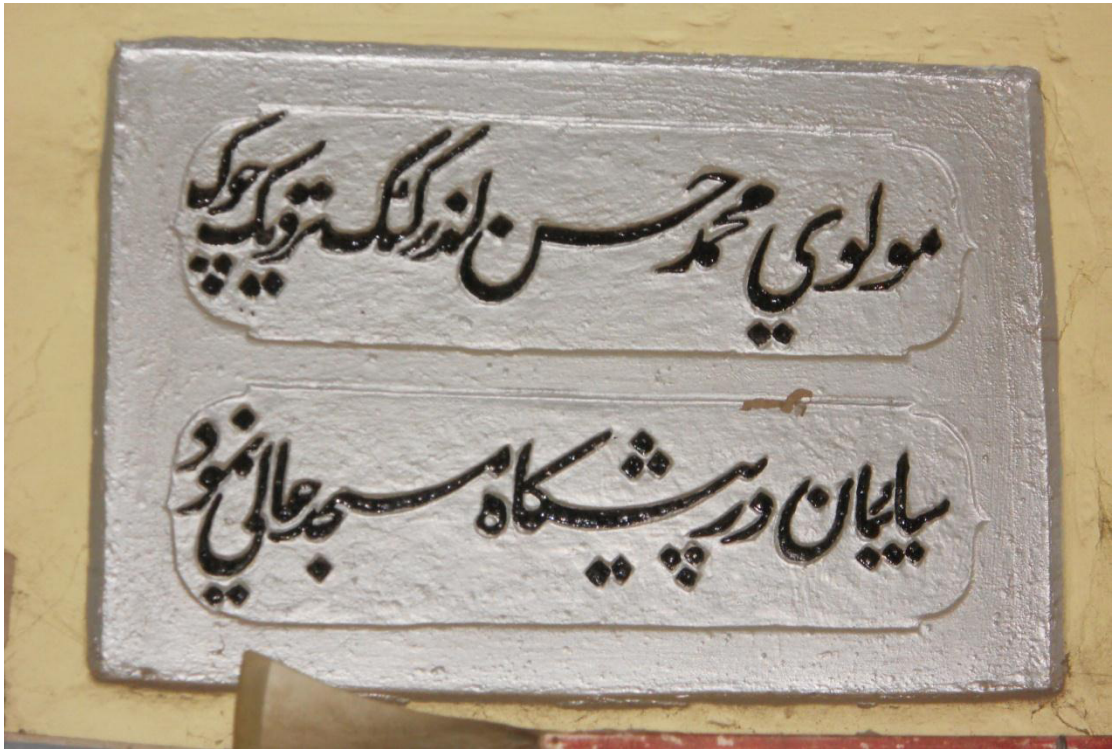


Plate-21



Plate-20-21, are the second Inscription on the wall of Juma Masjid, Cuttack

Plate-22

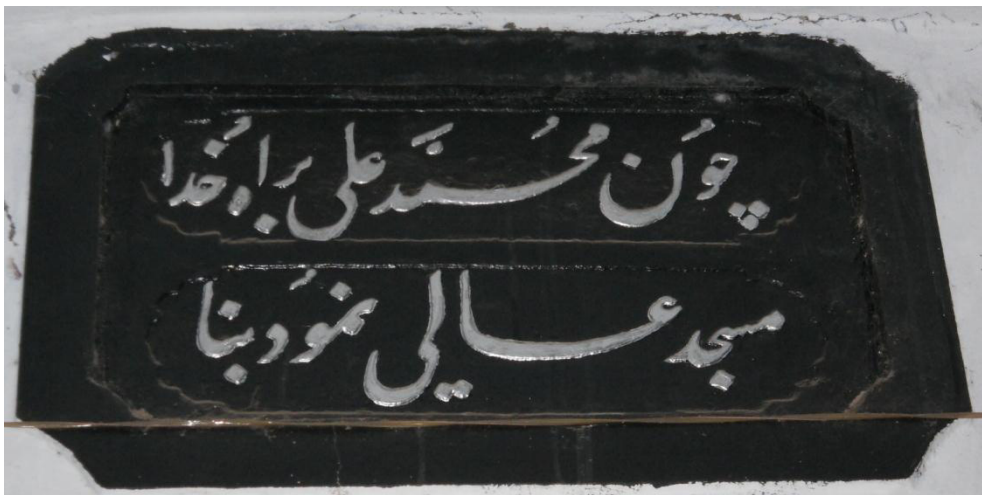


Plate-23

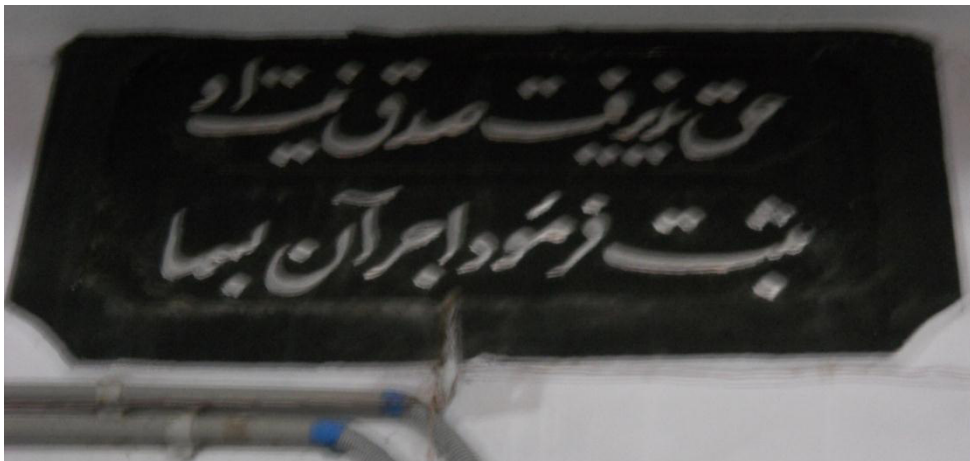


Plate-24



Plate-22-24, are the Persian Inscriptions preserved on the wall of the Muhammadia Bazar Mosque, Cuttack.

Plate-25



Plate-26



Plate-27



Plate-25-27, are the Inscription preserved on the wall of Sardar Khan Masjid,
Sheikh Bazar, Cuttack.

Plate-28



Plate-29



Plate-30

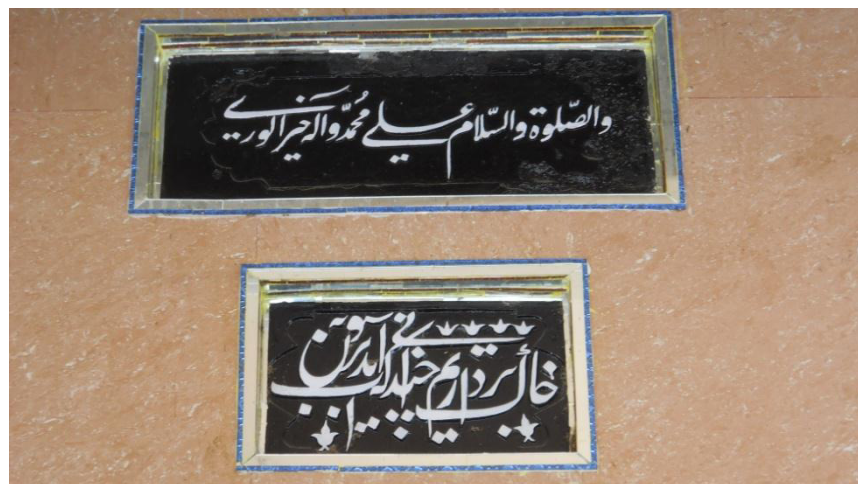


Plate-28-30, are the Persian Inscriptions on the façade of Qadam-i-Rasool, Cuttack.

Plate-31

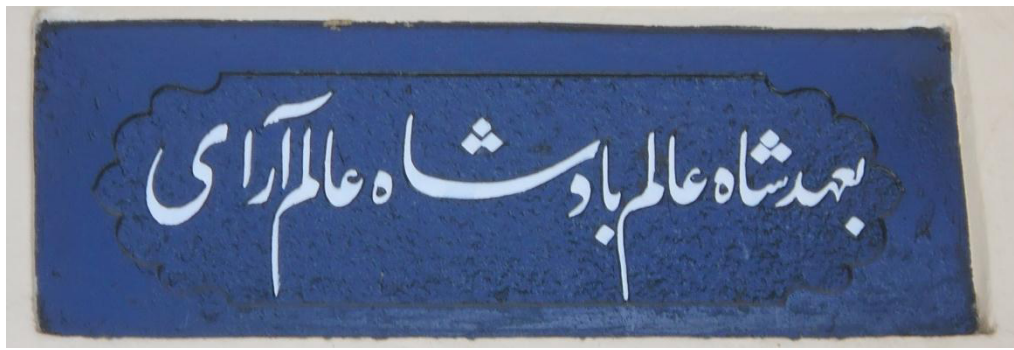


Plate-32



Plate-33

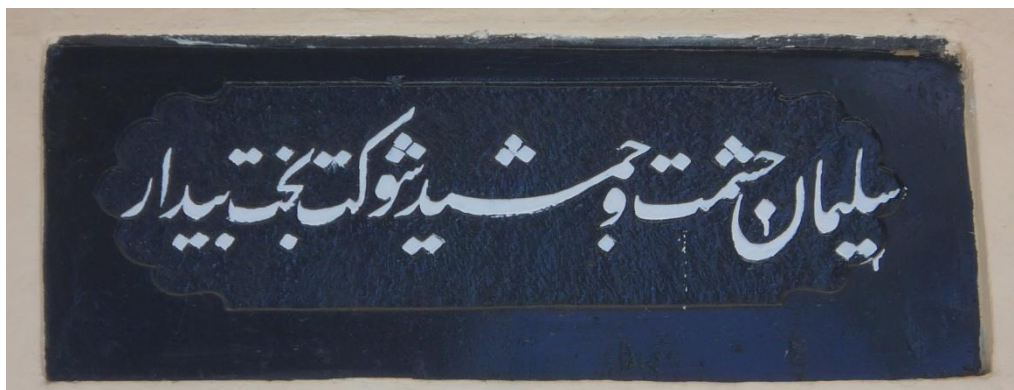


Plate-34



Plate-35



Plate-36



Plate-37



Plate-38



Plate-39



Plate-40



Plate-41



Plate-42



Plate-43



Plate-44



Plate-45



Plate-46



Plate-47



Plate-48

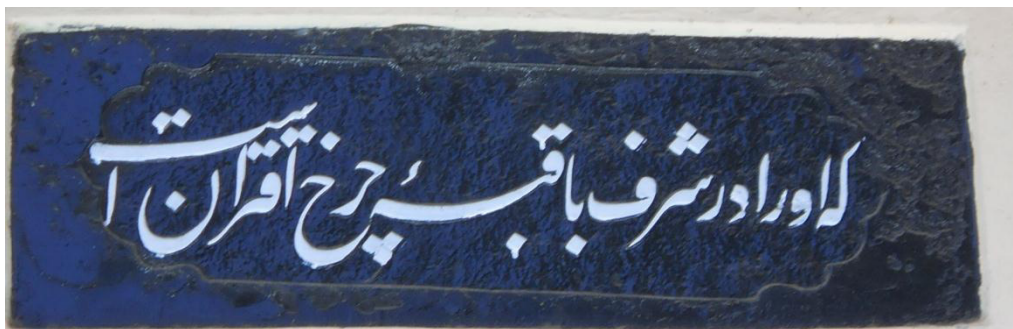


Plate-49



Plate-50



Plate-51



Plate-31-51, are the Persian Inscriptions preserved on the Octagonal wall of Qadam-i-Rasool Shrine, Cuttack.

Plate-52

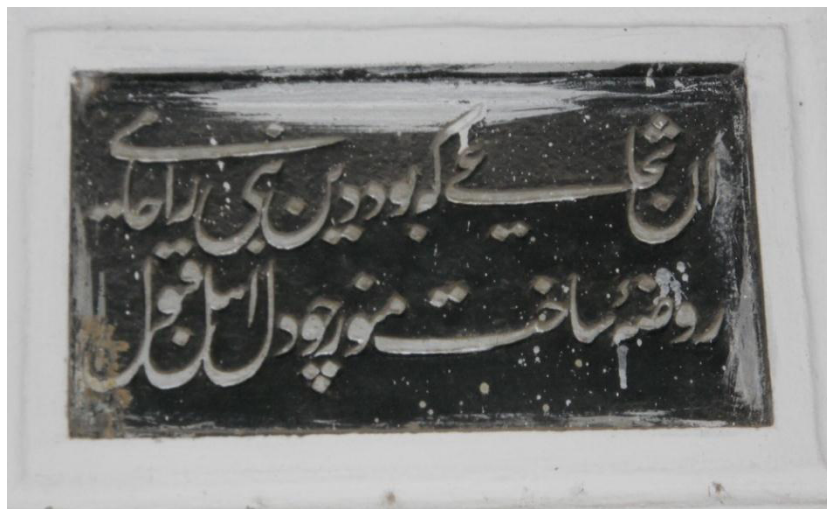


Plate-53

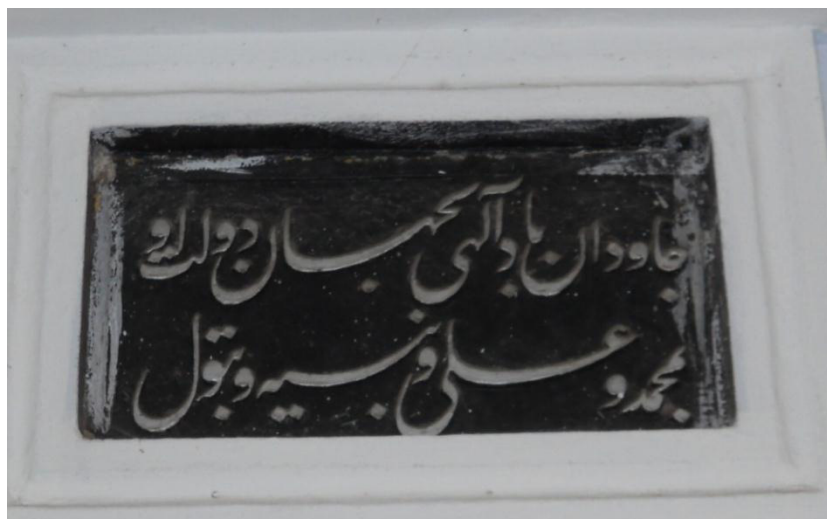


Plate-54

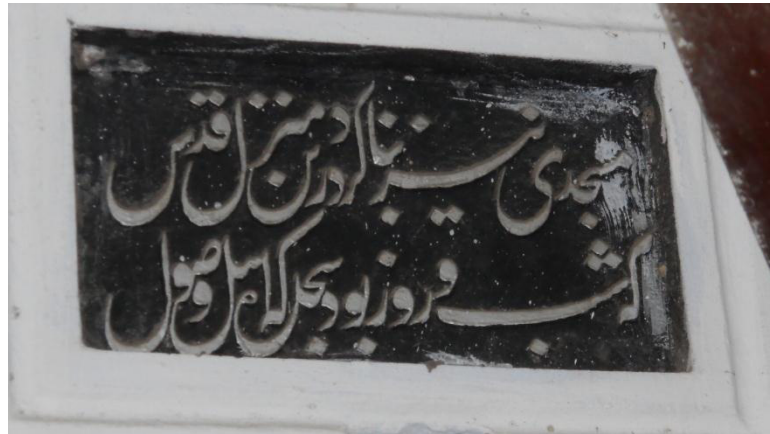


Plate-55

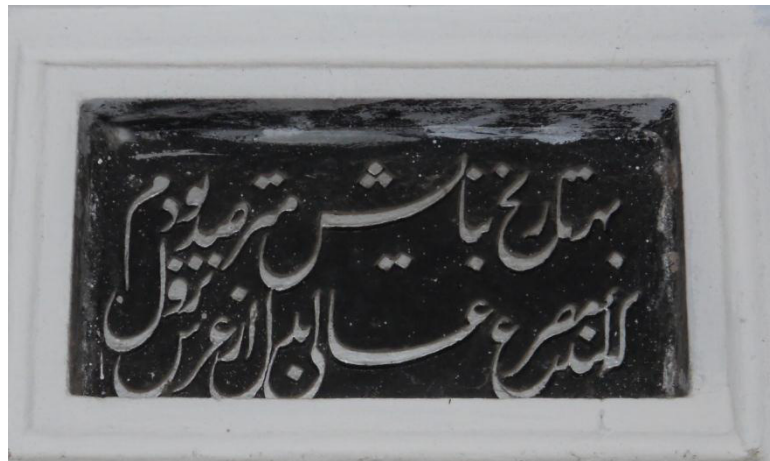


Plate-56

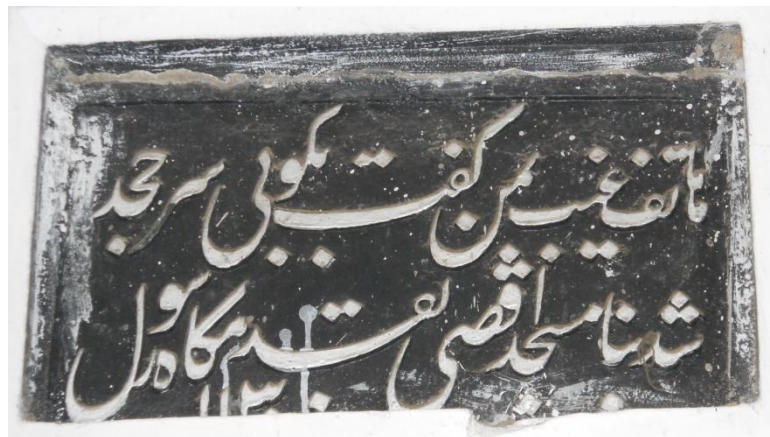


Plate-52-56, are the Persian Inscriptions preserved on the wall of Moti Masjid at Qadam-i-Rasool Shrine, Cuttack.

Plate-57



Plate-57, Contains the Persian Inscription on the beam of Hauz-i-Shuja at Qadam-i-Rasool Shrine, Cuttack.

Plate-58



Plate-58, Contains the Persian Inscription on the wall of Naubat Khana at Qadam-i-Rasool Shrine, Cuttack.

Plate-59

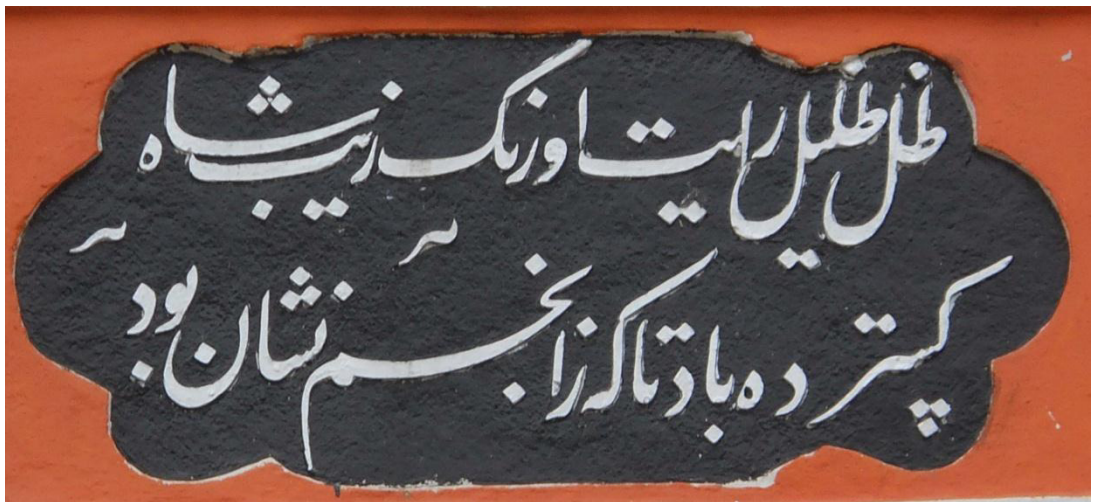


Plate-60

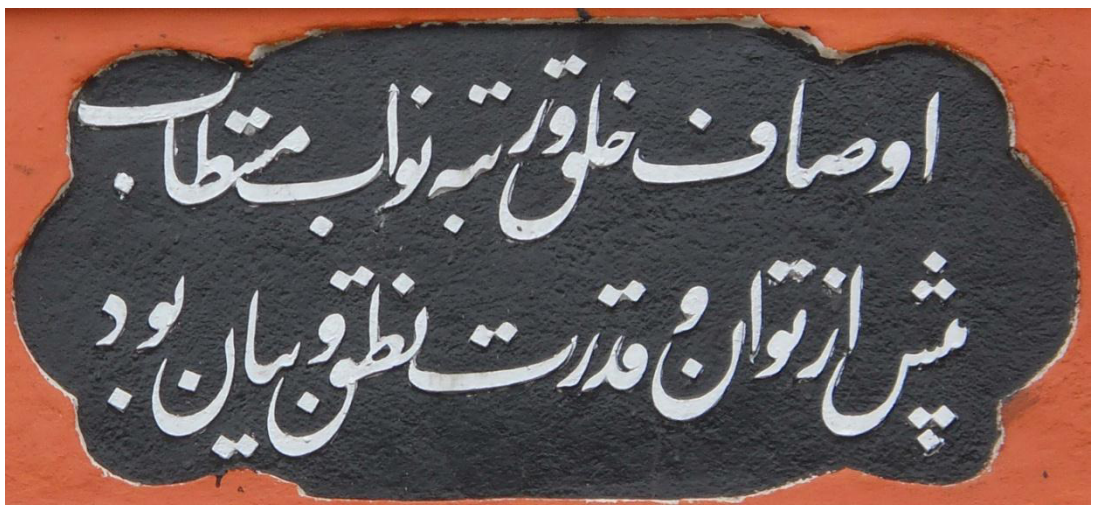


Plate-61

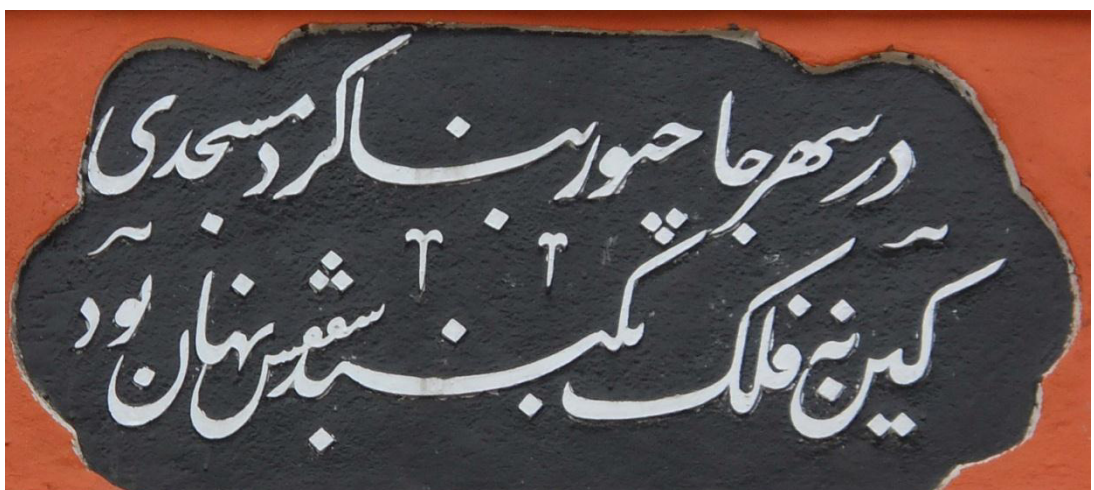


Plate-62

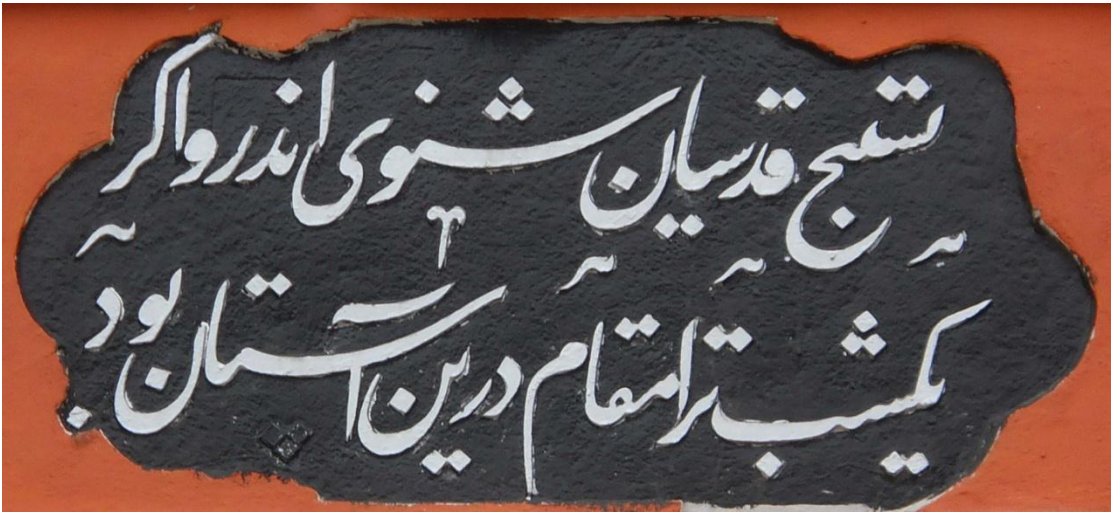


Plate-63

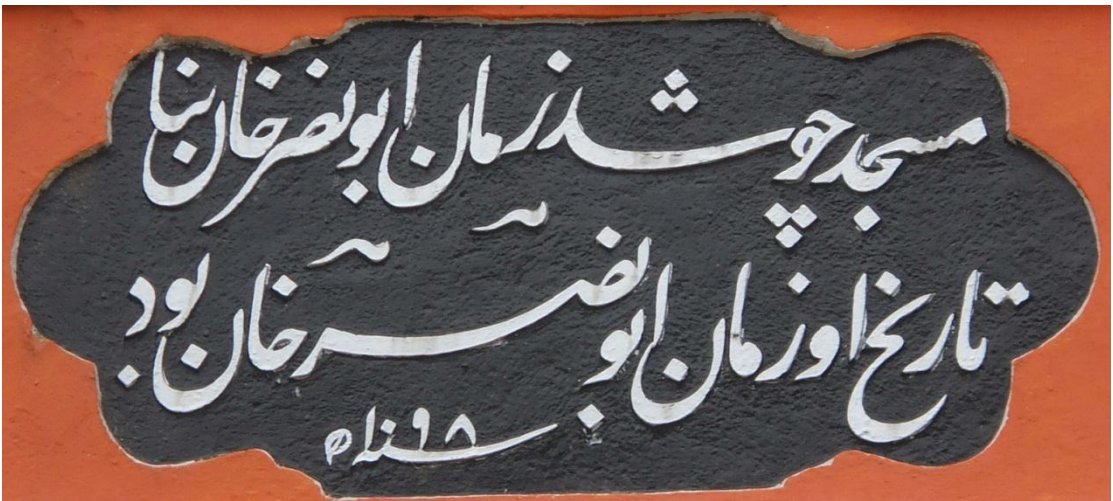


Plate-59-63, are the Persian Inscriptions of Abu Nasar Khan Mosque, Jajpur.

Plate-64

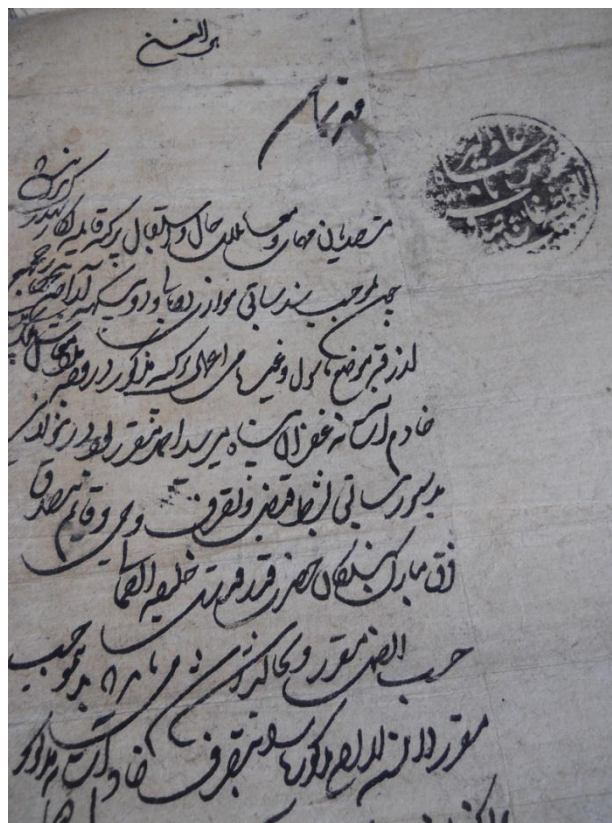


Plate-65

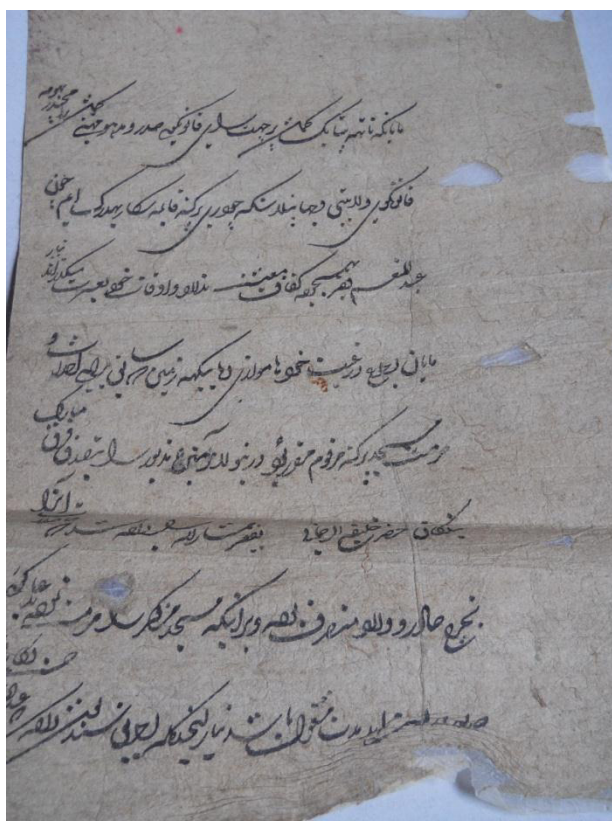


Plate-66

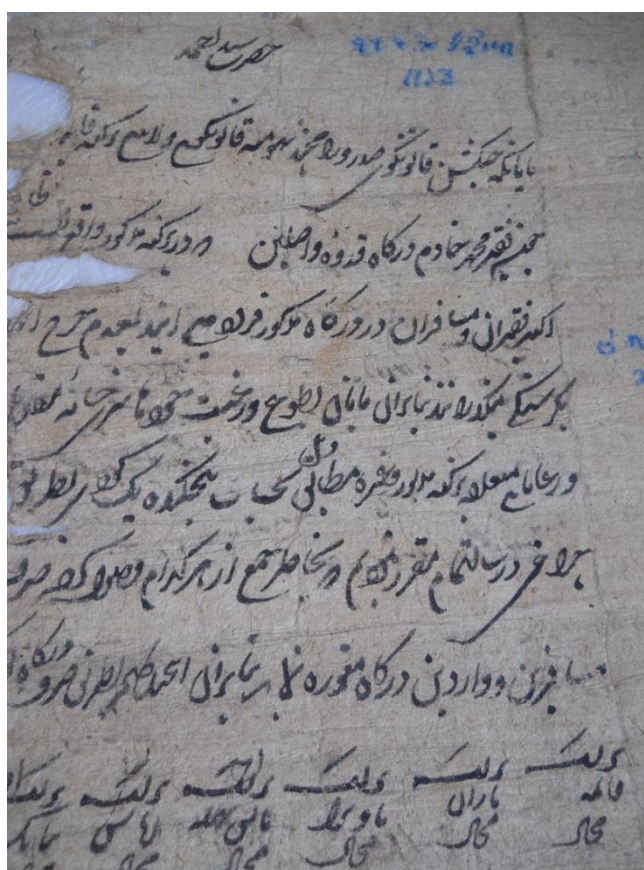


Plate-67

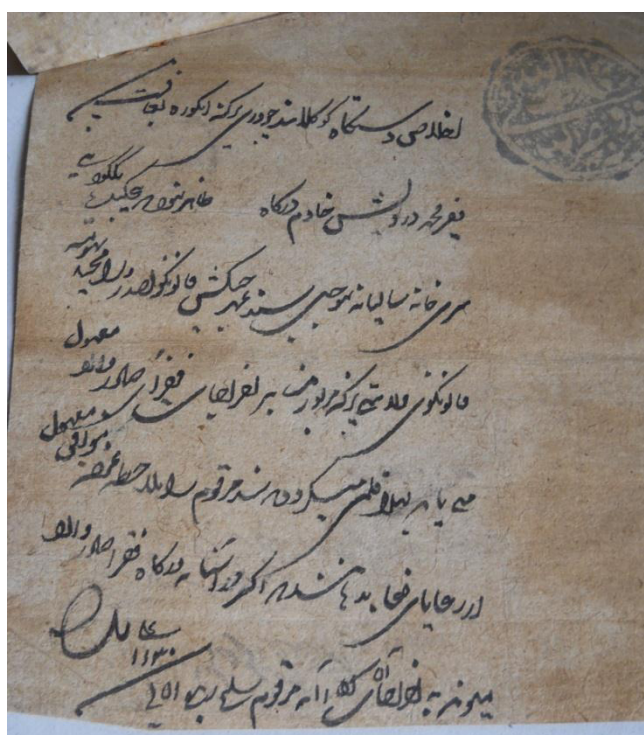


Plate-68

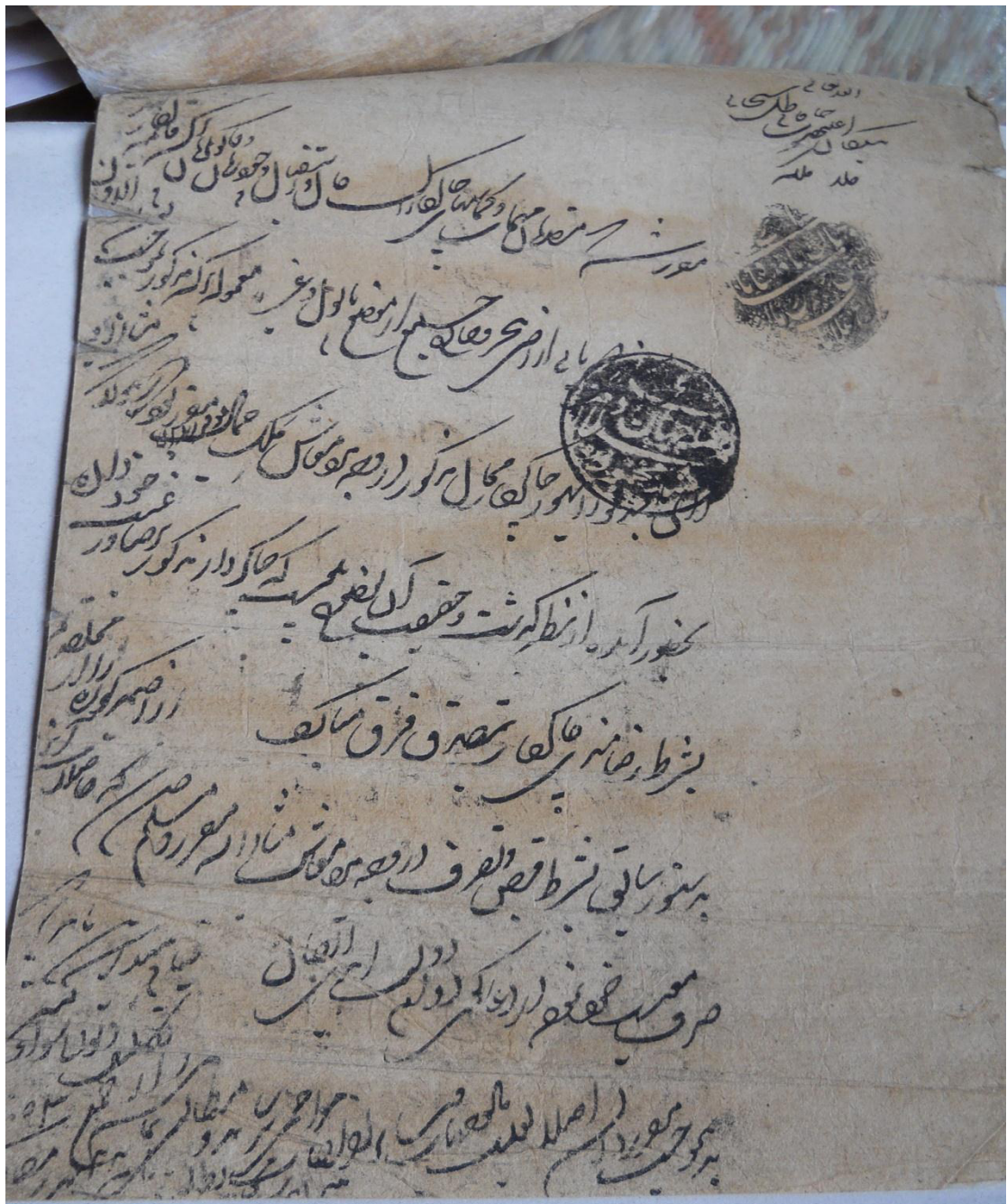


Plate-64-68, are the Persian MSS preserved by Shajmahal Ali Shah,
Baligaon, Chandbali.

Plate-69



Dewan Bazar Mosque, Cuttack.

Plate-70



Interior portion of the Dewan Bazar Mosque, Cuttack.

Plate-71



Juma Masjid, Balu Bazar, Cuttack.

Plate-72



Interior portion of the Juma Masjid, Balu Bazar, Cuttack.

Plate-73



Abu Nasar Khan Mosque, Jajpur.

Plate-74



The Qadam-i-Rassol Shrine, Cuttack.

Plate-75



The epitaph inscription of Nawab Taqi Khan

Plate-76



The Mughal graveyard at Qadam-i-Rasool Shrine, Cuttack.

Plate-77



Tomb of Saiyyad Ahmed Saiyed, Baligaon, Chandbali.

Plate-78



Shahi Qila Mosque (Inside the Barabati fort), Cuttack.